

An engraving by Giorgio Ghisi depicting a dramatic scene. In the center, a muscular, nude male figure is being held or restrained by two other figures. To the right, a woman in a long, flowing dress is seated, holding a long, flaming torch. In the background, a statue of a seated male figure is visible within an arched niche. The scene is set in a grand, classical architectural space with columns and ornate details.

The Engravings of Giorgio Ghisi

The Metropolitan Museum of Art

The Engravings of Giorgio Ghisi

The Engravings of Giorgio Ghisi

Introduction and entries by
Suzanne Boorsch

Catalogue raisonné by
Michal and R. E. Lewis

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

An exhibition, organized to coincide with the publication of the catalogue, was held at The Saint Louis Art Museum, Saint Louis, Missouri, 16 April–26 May 1985, at The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 18 June–1 September 1985, and at the Grunwald Center for the Graphic Arts, the University of California, Los Angeles, 24 September–10 November 1985.

The exhibition was made possible, in part, by Interfin Corporation and the National Endowment for the Arts, a federal agency, Washington, D.C.

The catalogue was made possible, in part, by a generous gift from Mr. and Mrs. Arthur Ross.

Copyright © 1985 by The Metropolitan Museum of Art. All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic or mechanical, including photocopying, recording, or any information storage and retrieval system, without permission in writing from the publisher.

Published by The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York
Bradford D. Kelleher, Publisher
John P. O'Neill, Editor in Chief
Polly Cone, Executive Editor
Kathleen Agena and Cynthia Clark, Editors
Abby Goldstein, Designer

Type set by U.S. Lithograph, New York

Printed by Mercantile Printing Co., Inc.,
Worcester, Massachusetts

Bound by Publishers Book Bindery, Long Island City, New York

On the cover/jacket: Detail of no. 27, *The Calumny of Apelles*,
after Luca Penni, unfinished proof

Contents

7	Director's Foreword	213	Watermarks
9	Lenders to the Exhibition	225	Appendices
11	Acknowledgments	227	Summaries of Letters from Giorgio Ghisi <i>Gabriella Befani Canfield</i>
13	Museums Visited	229	Ghisi's Publishers <i>Michal and R. E. Lewis</i>
15	Introduction <i>Suzanne Boorsch</i>	234	The French Royal Privilege <i>Michal and R. E. Lewis</i>
31	A Note on the Catalogue Raisonné <i>Michal and R. E. Lewis</i>	235	Concordance with Bartsch
33	Bibliographical Works Cited in Abbreviated Form	237	Bibliography
34	Catalogue	243	Index
205	Attributed Works		
211	Rejected Works		

Director's Foreword

*I*t is with pleasure that The Metropolitan Museum of Art presents the first exhibition devoted exclusively to the engraved work of Giorgio Ghisi (1520–1582) and publishes the first complete catalogue raisonné of his works. Ghisi, the preeminent Italian engraver of the generation following Marcantonio Raimondi, produced sixty-three prints during a working life of some forty-five years. If this output seems small, bear in mind that engraving is a difficult and time-consuming technique, in which the artist incises lines by pushing a burin along a copperplate with the strength of his arm. Many of Ghisi's prints are of an imposing scale, and even the smallest of them, the personal emblem of the Princess Lucrezia Gonzaga—here published among Ghisi's engravings for the first time—is worked with a richness and elegance that give it a truly monumental character.

Although Ghisi was born and died in Mantua, the small northern Italian city ruled by the noble Gonzaga family, he spent nearly half his working life in the north of Europe. From 1550 to 1555 he created engravings for Hieronymus Cock, whose Aux Quatre Vents publishing house in the flourishing port city of Antwerp was the largest and best known in northern Europe. Evidence assembled here for the first time shows that Ghisi then spent ten or twelve years in France, during which time he produced some of his most compelling images. It is

thus not inappropriate for Ghisi to receive his first monographic exhibition far from home, for his prints have always been well known wherever prints have been collected, and perhaps especially so in the English-speaking countries. Indeed, the Metropolitan Museum, in its short history, has acquired nearly one hundred impressions of Ghisi's engravings, including a unique proof state of *The Calumny of Apelles* and rare early states of the Prophets and Sibyls series after Michelangelo's Sistine Ceiling.

The exhibition presents the best impressions from the Metropolitan Museum's collection together with prints generously lent by many individuals and institutions here and abroad, so that each one of Ghisi's images may be shown to best advantage.

We are deeply indebted to the National Endowment for the Arts, without whose generous support the exhibition of Giorgio Ghisi's work would not have been possible. In turn, I would like to express our deep gratitude to Mr. and Mrs. Arthur Ross for their special contribution toward the funding of the catalogue.

Philippe de Montebello
Director
The Metropolitan Museum of Art

Lenders to the Exhibition

The Art Institute of Chicago
Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris
Dr. and Mrs. Goodwin M. Breinin
The British Museum, London
Robert Dance
Hill-Stone, Inc., New York
Istituto Nazionale per la Grafica, Rome
The Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.
Phyllis D. Massar
The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York
Museum of Art, Rhode Island School of Design,
Providence

Museum of Fine Arts, Boston
The New York Public Library
Paul Prouté S.A., Paris
Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, Philadelphia
Philadelphia Museum of Art
The Pierpont Morgan Library, New York
Private collection, USA
Mary Ruiz, Los Angeles
The Saint Louis Art Museum
Collection of Mr. and Mrs. Marcus Sopher
Leo Steinberg
Victoria and Albert Museum, London

Acknowledgments

Grateful acknowledgment must first be extended to Mr. and Mrs. Arthur Ross, whose generous gift in support of this book is deeply appreciated. The Grants Committee of The Metropolitan Museum of Art must also be thanked for the award of a travel grant that made possible research in Europe, particularly in Mantua.

Many people, far and near, gave of their time and knowledge to help in the preparation of the catalogue. To begin in Ghisi's birthplace, Anna-Maria Lorenzoni of the Archivio di Stato graciously and unfailingly provided assistance both in Mantua and by correspondence over the course of four years. Renato Berzaghi, also of Mantua, generously let us know of his own discoveries concerning Ghisi in the Mantuan archives and promptly responded to many detailed inquiries. Chiara Tellini Perina shared her knowledge of Teodoro Ghisi with us, and Adele Bellù and the rest of the staff at the Archivio di Stato were most helpful. Paolo Bellini in Milan also was most gracious in sharing information with us.

In Paris, Sylvie Béguin of the Louvre gave generously of her extensive knowledge of the sixteenth century. Philippe Lejeune spent hours searching archives for any trace of Ghisi that might remain in Paris. Laure Beaumont, Madeleine Barbin, Gisèle Lambert, Françoise Jestaz, Jacqueline Sanson, and Marianne Grivel of the Bibliothèque Nationale all amiably aided our examination of prints there, and M. and Mme Hubert Prouté let us look at leisure at all their prints by Ghisi. John Gere, John Rowlands, Martyn Tillier, and Antony Griffiths of the British Museum provided help in studying that collection, as did E. C. Kauffmann at the Victoria and Albert Museum. Adrian Eeles and Ruth Bromberg, also in London, gave us their assistance as well. Marie Mauquoy-Hendrickx and K. G. Boon gave enthusiastic encouragement in the early stages of the catalogue raisonné. We also much appreciate the cooperation of Stefania Massari at the Istituto Nazionale per la Grafica, Rome; Terez Gerszi at the Szépművészeti Múzeum, Budapest; and J. P. Filedt Kok at the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.

On this side of the Atlantic, Clifford Brown of Carleton University, Ottawa, from the beginning was extremely generous in contributing his knowledge of Mantua. We also availed ourselves of the good will of Eleanor Garvey and of Konrad Oberhuber and Henri Zerner (both of whom have been most helpful from the inception of the project) of Harvard; David Becker and Sue Welsh Reed of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston;

Deborah Johnson at the Rhode Island School of Design; and Ellen d'Oench at Wesleyan University. Jean Boorsch and Richard Field at Yale, Robert Rainwater and Tobin Sparling of the New York Public Library, Colin Eisler and Egbert Haverkamp Begemann of New York University, as well as Robert Dance, Phyllis Massar, Roberta Olson, Leo Steinberg, and Jeffrey Wortman in New York all helped to further the project.

Helen Mangelsdorf of the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, Philadelphia, took considerable trouble to allow us to make a thorough study of the prints in that collection, and Ellen Jacobowitz assisted with those at the Philadelphia Museum of Art.

At the Metropolitan Museum, very special thanks go to Betty Fiske for her painstaking drawings of the watermarks on Ghisi's prints and to Gabriella Canfield for her care in translating and summarizing Ghisi's letters. Stuart Pyhrr informed us on Ghisi's work in armor, and Max Anderson obligingly vetted our translations from the Latin. All of the staff of the Department of Prints and Photographs must be thanked for their patience and support throughout the duration of this project: Colta Ives, Janet S. Byrne, Mary L. Myers, David W. Kiehl, Wendy Belser, Elizabeth Wyckoff, Robert Luck, Amy Butler, and Edmond Stack, as well as former staff members Weston Naef, Max Berman, and Anne Sheerin. We also want to record our thanks to the late A. Hyatt Mayor, Curator Emeritus of the department, who from the beginning encouraged us in our study of Giorgio Ghisi. The work of Mark D. Cooper and his staff in the Photographic Studio, especially Walter J. F. Yee, Gene C. Herbert, and Alexander Mikhailovich, is highly appreciated, as is that of Helen K. Otis and the rest of her staff in the Paper Conservation Department: Marjorie N. Shelley, Margaret Holben Ellis, Margaret Lawson, Carlo Coccaro, Lindsey Fisher, and Vivienne Valentine.

Other members of the Metropolitan Museum staff who agreeably gave help are Jacob Bean, John Daley, Laura Hawkins, Laurence Libin, Joan Mertens, Helmut Nickel, Edith Standen, and Alice Zrebiec. Thanks also go to Polly Cone of the Editorial Department, who shepherded the project through to completion, and to editors Kay Agena and Cynthia Clark and designer Abby Goldstein, who molded the book into its final form.

The work of three Metropolitan Museum interns contributed immeasurably to the project. In addition to writing the catalogue entries signed with their names, Angela Tau Bailey and Rose-Helen Breinin ably performed an

extensive range of tasks; particular thanks go to Mrs. Bailey for organizing the recording of the watermarks and to Mrs. Breinin for her work on the bibliography. In the last stages of the work, Katrin Kalveram cheerfully and indefatigably checked information on the galleys. It has been a great pleasure to work with each of these three, and we count ourselves fortunate to have had the benefit of their dedication and commitment to the success of this project.

Finally, warm thanks go to members of our respective families: to Allan Appel, without whose support through many evenings and weekends of double duty with children at home the entries could not have been written, and to Jan Lewis Westwood, who for the past fifteen months has taken on extra work and responsibility in the office while her parents were occupied with the book.

S. B., M. L., and R. E. L.

Museums Visited

*T*he museums whose collections of Ghisi's prints were studied for the preparation of this catalogue are here listed, alphabetically by country. Austria: Graphische Sammlung Albertina, Vienna; Belgium: Bibliothèque Royale, Brussels; England: The Ashmolean Museum, Oxford University; The British Museum, London; The Collection of the Dukes of Devonshire, Chatsworth; The Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge University; Victoria and Albert Museum, London; France: Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris; Collection Dutuit, Musée du Petit Palais, Paris; West Germany: Hamburger Kunsthalle, Hamburg; Kunsthalle, Bremen; Kunstmuseum, Düsseldorf; Staatliche Graphische Sammlung, Munich; Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin-Dahlem; Staatsgalerie, Stuttgart; Städelsches Kunstinstitut und Städtische Galerie, Frankfurt; Martin von Wagner Museum, University of Würzburg; Hungary: Szépművészeti Múzeum, Budapest; Italy: Galleria e Museo di Palazzo Ducale, Mantua; Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence; Istituto Nazionale per la Grafica, Calcografia, Rome; Istituto Nazionale per la Grafica, Gabinetto delle Stampe, Rome; Musei Civici, Castello Visconteo, Pavia (Malaspina and Soriga Collections); Museo Correr, Venice; Pinacoteca Ambrosiana, Milan;

Remondini Collection, Museo Civico, Bassano del Grappa; The Netherlands: Museum Boymans-van Beuningen, Rotterdam; Prentenkabinet, Rijksuniversiteit, Leiden; Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam; Teylers Museum, Haarlem; Spain: Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid; Colecciones del Real Monasterio, El Escorial; The United States: Achenbach Foundation, Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco; The Art Institute of Chicago; The Baltimore Museum of Art; Boston Public Library (Wiggin Collection); Cleveland Museum of Art; Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University, Cambridge; The Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.; The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; The Minneapolis Institute of Arts; Museum of Fine Arts, Boston; The National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.; William Rockhill Nelson Gallery of Art, Kansas City; The New York Public Library; Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, Philadelphia; Philadelphia Museum of Art; Princeton University Art Gallery, Princeton; The Rosenwald Collection, Jenkintown, Pennsylvania; The Saint Louis Art Museum; and The Yale University Art Gallery, New Haven.

Introduction

In the time of Paul III . . . I went twice to Rome. . . . Then I entered the temple [of Esculapius] in the company of Messer Giorgio Ghisi Mantovano, a man truly rare in today's world at engraving plates and at damascening of the most varied kind.¹

These words, written by Giorgio's friend, fellow Mantuan, and fellow artist Giovanni Battista Bertani when Giorgio Ghisi was thirty-eight years old, are the first published reference to the engraver and damascener whose engravings are the subject of this catalogue. Bertani's reference to Ghisi is short, yet it establishes a number of facts: that Ghisi and Bertani were friends—as would have been natural for two closely contemporary artists, Bertani being four years older than Ghisi, from the same small north Italian city; that they visited Rome between 1534 and 1549 (the span of the papacy of Paul III); that artists visited the monuments of Rome together—again, hardly surprising; and that Ghisi was known as both an engraver and a damascener and was highly regarded for both arts. Bertani was the superintendent of artistic works for the court of the Gonzaga dukes of Mantua, and it

can be assumed that his praise, even if colored by friendship, reflected the opinion of aesthetically sophisticated critics.

Bertani's words, few as they are, conjure up an image of the two young men visiting a city full of excitement, especially for artists, in the 1540s (see fig. 1). Paul III, who succeeded the weak and vacillating Clement VII (1523–34), sought, following the sack of Rome in 1527, to reestablish the city not only as the center of Christendom but as a place renowned for its works of art. He continued building the huge new basilica of St. Peter's, begun early in the century under Julius II (1503–13); he commissioned Michelangelo in 1537 to paint *The Last Judgment* (see no. 9) in the Sistine Chapel; and, upon its completion in 1541, he commissioned Michelangelo to paint frescoes for the new chapel bearing his own name—the Cappella Paolina. He also supported archaeological excavations, which unearthed antique buildings and statuary—the Farnese Hercules (see no. 58), for example, was dug up in the Baths of Caracalla in 1540—and which made the classical past very much part of the present.



Fig. 1. Rome in 1555. Engraving by Jacob Bos. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1941. 41.72.(1.4)

Bertani's was not the only contemporary published reference to Giorgio Ghisi. Giorgio Vasari, in the *Life of Marcantonio Raimondi*, which appears only in the second edition of his *Lives of artists*, written in 1566 and published in 1568, mentions Ghisi twice by name, calling him "Giorgio Mantovano," in writing of two of his prints (nos. 9, 14). He also occasionally cites Giorgio's prints without naming the engraver or assigns them to another engraver (see nos. 7, 8, 10, 17). The most serious mistake Vasari made concerning Ghisi, however, occurred in a passage in which neither Giorgio's name nor any of his prints was mentioned:

In short, between the last time that I saw Mantua and this year of 1566, when I have revisited that city, it has become so much more beautiful and ornate, that, if I had not seen it for myself, I would not believe it; and, what is more, the craftsmen have multiplied there, and they still continue to multiply. Thus, to that Giovan Battista Mantovano, an excellent sculptor and engraver of prints, of whom we have spoken in the life of Giulio Romano and in that of Marc Antonio Bolognese, have been born two sons, who engrave copper-plates divinely well, and, what is even more astonishing, a daughter, called Diana, who also engraves so well that it is a thing to marvel at.²

Because Giovanni Battista Mantovano, whose family name has now been established as "Scultori," did have a daughter Diana, who was an engraver, and a son Adamo, also an engraver, readers of Vasari assumed that the second son who was an engraver had to be Giorgio. Since Giorgio's family name was clear from his signature on many of his prints, and since the name "Scultori," appearing on some of Giovanni Battista's prints, could be interpreted as a sobriquet meaning "engraver," the further assumption was made that the family name of Giovanni Battista, Adamo, and Diana was really "Ghisi." Mariette, in his notes on engravers, which were not published until the twentieth century but to which Adam Bartsch had access and on which he relied, grouped the engravings of all four together;³ Bartsch separated the work of the four artists but called them all Ghisi.⁴ To this day, in spite of numerous publications that have stated the correct information,⁵ many print connoisseurs and print rooms have not rectified the error. The point still needs stressing: Giorgio is the only Ghisi who was an engraver.

Giorgio did have a brother, Teodoro Ghisi, who was a painter but not an engraver. Teodoro's artistic fame has been eclipsed—justifiably—by that of his brother, and in fact he is best known as the designer of two images engraved by Giorgio (nos. 42, 43). His oeuvre has been to some extent reconstituted in recent articles by Perina,⁶ and in the present catalogue we suggest that several other images engraved by Giorgio might have derived from Teodoro's designs (nos. 53–55, 57, 61).

In addition to Bertani's and Vasari's references to Giorgio published during his lifetime, there are a few sixteenth-century documents that mention him, as well as an inventory book in his hand and twelve letters from him in the Archivio di Stato of Mantua. These records,

however, are a disappointment for the student of his prints, for although they provide some glimpses of his personality, they date, with one exception, from the last six years of his life, after his best work had been done, and none of them says anything about engraving (see Letters). When all of this evidence is combined with that of the prints themselves—which remain the most important records of Ghisi's life—a biography, as yet incomplete, can be outlined.

The year of Ghisi's birth is known only through his death notice, which gives his age when he died, on December 15, 1582, as sixty-two.⁷ He was born into a family that had lived in Mantua for over two centuries; his father was Lodovico Ghisi, a merchant.⁸ Nothing is known of Giorgio's artistic formation, but it is highly probable that he learned engraving with Giovanni Battista Scultori, and, if master and apprentice had been close, this relationship could easily have been misunderstood by Vasari. Giorgio's two prints after Scultori (nos. 7, 8) have in fact been mistaken for Giovanni Battista's work, for the good reason that they strongly resemble his style.⁹ Giovanni Battista seems to have produced prints only between 1536 and 1543, but precisely these years would have been the formative ones for Giorgio Ghisi.

Giorgio surely would have grown up looking to Giulio Romano as the brightest light in the immediate artistic firmament. Giulio, who had assisted Raphael in the decoration of the papal apartments in the Vatican between about 1510 and 1520 and was Raphael's prime inheritor, came to Mantua in 1524, four years after Raphael's death, at the invitation of Duke Federigo Gonzaga (1500–1540). Duke Federigo named Giulio superintendent of all artistic works in Mantua, and as such he was responsible for everything from architectural structures to ephemeral decorations for festivals. The inventive and bizarre pleasure palace for Duke Federigo, the Palazzo del Te, is Giulio's most comprehensive and personal monument (see nos. 1, 3, 25, 26, 41, 50). Giorgio's earliest engravings (nos. 1–6) are after works by Giulio, probably made before the older artist died in 1546; later, between 1558 and 1574, Ghisi engraved four more images designed by Giulio (nos. 25, 26, 41, 50).

During Giorgio's trip to Rome sometime before 1549, he apparently made contact with Antonio Lafreri, a Frenchman from Lorraine who came to Rome about 1540 and who between that year and his death in 1577 built up the largest and most renowned print publishing establishment in Rome, indeed in all Italy (see Publishers).¹⁰ Lafreri published four of Ghisi's engravings during the 1540s: *The Death of Procris* after Giulio Romano (no. 5); two prints after Giovanni Battista Scultori (nos. 7, 8); and one after Francesco Salviati, *The Visitation*, a subject painted in 1538 in the Oratorio of San Giovanni Decollato (no. 10). Whether Ghisi stayed in Rome and produced these at Lafreri's establishment is not known; he could have brought some plates with him from Mantua, or he could have brought along only the drawings. Presuma-



Fig 2. Antwerp in 1557. Etching by Hieronymus Cock. Courtesy of Mercatorfonds N.V., Antwerp

bly it was in Rome that Ghisi procured the drawing from which he engraved *The Visitation*, but not necessarily, for the print clearly was not made from a drawing after the finished fresco (see no. 10 and discussion below).

During the 1540s Ghisi reproduced, in a large engraving on ten separate plates, the most famous work of art of its day, Michelangelo's *Last Judgment*, painted in fresco on the altar wall of the Sistine Chapel in the Vatican (no. 9). We think this print was executed in Mantua, although the plates did eventually make their way to Rome.

In 1549 or 1550, when he was about thirty years old, Ghisi left Italy to go north to Antwerp, the port city on the river Scheldt that at that date was the major commercial center of northern Europe (fig. 2). Ghisi may well have been invited to Antwerp by Hieronymus Cock, who almost certainly visited Rome in the late 1540s.¹¹ Cock was, in his turn, the founder of the largest and best-known print publishing establishment in northern Europe, which he called *Aux Quatre Vents* (see Publishers).¹²

Ghisi produced five large engravings for Cock, all dated, between 1550 and 1555. The first of these was *The School of Athens* (no. 11), on two plates, which repro-

duced one of Raphael's frescoes in the Stanza della Segnatura of the Apostolic Palace in the Vatican. As Riggs wrote, "for the first time in the North an outstanding monument of the Italian Renaissance was reproduced in engraving, on a large scale and with great technical brilliance, by an Italian engraver."¹³ Ghisi subsequently made engravings after Lambert Lombard's *The Last Supper* (no. 12); another fresco from Raphael's Stanza della Segnatura, *The Dispute on the Holy Sacrament* (no. 13); Bronzino's easel painting *The Nativity* (no. 14); and *The Judgment of Paris* (no. 16), a drawing by Ghisi's friend Bertani. Ghisi was the first Italian whose work Cock published, and his importation of the broader Italian style had some influence on other engravers working for Cock—as indeed Ghisi was influenced by his northern surroundings.

Ghisi's name appears on the registers of the Guild of St. Luke in 1551 as "Joorge Mantewaen, *coperen plaetsnyder*" (copperplate engraver);¹⁴ there is no reason to doubt that the person listed is to be identified as Giorgio Ghisi. Unfortunately, no other document concerning Ghisi has been unearthed in Antwerp.

During the years that Ghisi produced prints published

by Cock, he decorated one of the two pieces of armor known to have been worked by him that are still extant. The lavishly embossed and damascened parade shield now in the British Museum (fig. 3) bears the date 1554. To our knowledge the patron who commissioned this shield, and even the place where it was made, have not been established.¹⁵

Ghisi could have traveled to Italy in or around 1554, because he engraved one plate that was published in 1554 not by Cock but by Lafreri; this, in fact, was his first subject after Bertani, *The Vision of Ezekiel* (no. 15). He could, of course, have made the plate in northern Europe and sent it to Rome, for Lafreri carried on an active trade of books and prints with other commercial centers, such as Venice and Paris.¹⁶

The next document for Ghisi's biography, other than the prints themselves, is an extremely important, if frustrating, one. This is the one letter in the Archivio di Stato of Mantua that dates from the years when Ghisi was at the height of his powers. It is significant in that it

establishes Ghisi's presence in Paris (see fig. 4) on December 15, 1562.¹⁷ Maddeningly, the letter is hardly more than an elaborate thank-you note, apparently for a letter of recommendation that has arrived from the unidentified correspondent (see Letters). It does, nonetheless, confirm that Ghisi was in France at that date.

Ghisi's presence there around this time could have been inferred from the appearance on three of his prints (nos. 25–27) of the royal privilege (see Royal Privilege), which appears nowhere except in France at this period, for Italy had no kingdoms and most of the rest of Europe—where prints were being produced, at any rate—was part of the Holy Roman Empire. These three prints, two after Giulio Romano and one after Luca Penni, were published in 1559 and 1560, surely in France.

Further, it seems to us that most of the prints dating between the mid-1550s and 1567 (i.e., nos. 17–41) were made in France. The portrait of the French jurist François Duaren (no. 20) would logically have been produced in that country, as would have Ghisi's three other prints



Fig. 3. Parade shield, signed “GEORGIVS DE GHISVS MNTVANZ” and dated 1554. The British Museum, London, Waddesdon Bequest



Fig. 4. Paris in the 1560s. Braun & Hogenberg, *Civitates Orbis Terrarum* (facsimile). The Metropolitan Museum of Art

after Penni (nos. 21–23), two of which are dated 1556, and those after Primaticcio (nos. 17, 30–37), for both of these artists were Italians established in France. The drawing by Giulio Romano of *Hercules Resting from His Labors*, an image engraved by Giorgio in 1567 (no. 41), is in a French museum, and the unique unfinished proof of this print is in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. The watermarks, if they exist, on early states of all of these prints are those of northern papers. It thus seems clear that Ghisi remained in the north for a dozen years or so after he stopped working for Cock, from about 1556 until the late 1560s, and it seems likely, given the above evidence, that he was in France during most of this time. It was during this period that he attained the mastery of his style, as demonstrated by the prints of the late 1550s and 1560s (nos. 21–41), and created his most famous work, *Allegory of Life* (the so-called *Dream of Raphael*, no. 28).

Yet this phase of his life remains enigmatic. We do not know why Ghisi stopped working for Cock, and no additional document pertaining to his life during this time has come to light. The prints published in these years were not commissioned by a major publisher, and nothing is known of the circumstances of their creation. The subjects of several of the prints seem mysterious

(see especially nos. 25–27), and it is possible that some carry allusions to contemporary events, for this was a time of turmoil in France. After the sudden premature death of Henry II in 1559, Catherine de Medici, queen mother and regent for her sons, tried unsuccessfully to keep the country from being split apart by warring Huguenot and Catholic factions. The death of the young Francis II (1544–1560) did not help the political situation, and Charles IX (1550–1574) remained under the domination of his mother. The massacre of Huguenots throughout France on St. Bartholomew's Day, 1572, was evidence that the political deterioration was complete.

Toward the end of the 1560s, as Ghisi approached his fiftieth birthday, he returned to Mantua (fig. 5). Again, we do not know why, whether it was simply the general pull of home or a more specific impetus. There could have been a death in his family, for in 1569 he and his brother Teodoro were the subject of a notarial act having to do with the division of property.¹⁸

Ghisi's mastery of the engraving medium continued with no diminution after his return to Italy. It was at this time that he made the two prints after works of his brother Teodoro (nos. 42, 43). Despite the dates 1540 and 1549 that appear on different states of Ghisi's great series of



Fig. 5. Mantua in 1575. Anonymous engraving. Archivio di Stato, Mantua. Photo: Giovetti, Mantua

Prophets and Sibyls from Michelangelo's Sistine Ceiling (nos. 44–49), it is clear to us that both of these dates are false and that these prints were not created until after Ghisi was back in Italy, probably in the early 1570s. In 1570, Ghisi decorated a sword hilt, now in the National Museum, Budapest;¹⁹ this is Ghisi's only signed work in armor besides the shield of 1554 now extant, but presumably he had continued to decorate armor throughout the years he was in the north.

The names of both Giorgio and Teodoro Ghisi are on a document concerning preparations for receiving the party of Henry III, the new king of France, who visited Mantua in 1574 (see also *Attributed Works* 3–10). Beds and other furniture were to be put in “the room where Messer Teodoro painted” and the “*camerini* of Messer Giorgio”; the context shows that these rooms were in the Palazzo del Te.²⁰ Ghisi's last engraving after Giulio Romano, *Cupid and Psyche* (no. 50), was made in 1574; the subject is painted in fresco in that palace. Giorgio may have journeyed to Rome again; five prints of religious subjects (nos. 51–55) were published by Lafreri about 1575, but Ghisi could have produced the plates in Mantua and sent them to Rome.

A document dated December 6, 1576, records the investiture of Giorgio and Teodoro Ghisi by the Spedale of Mantua with a house.²¹ This may have been the moment when Giorgio formally entered the employ of the Gonzagas (see below), although possibly he had done so several years earlier, if he had been using rooms in the Palazzo del Te. In the later 1570s, Giorgio made several religious prints connected with the new church for the Mantuan court, the Basilica of St. Barbara (nos. 57, 60–63), which Giovanni Battista Bertani was building and in which the pious Guglielmo Gonzaga (b. 1538, duke 1550–87) took an interest that amounted nearly to obsession.²²

Giorgio may have found the effort of working the burin into copper increasingly difficult as he moved on in his fifties, although the engraving he made of *The Rest on the Flight into Egypt* after Giulio Campi (no. 59), which is dated 1578, still shows perfect control. The date on this print, however, looks as if it could have been changed, and possibly it was engraved a few years earlier.

The remaining letters and other documents concerning Giorgio cover the years from 1577 until his death. During this last phase of his life Ghisi was employed by

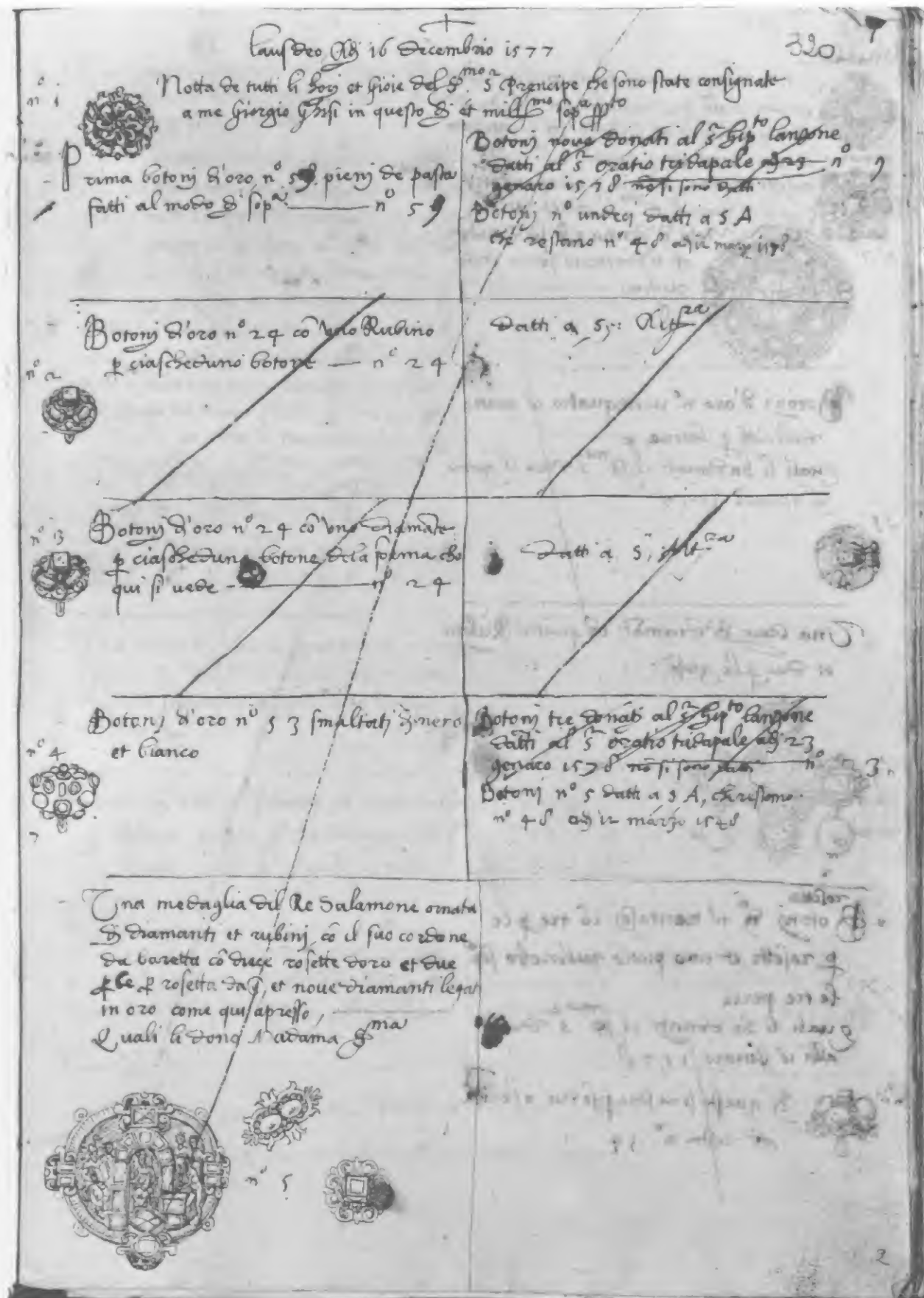


Fig. 6. Inventory book kept by Giorgio Ghisi, 1577–82. Archivio di Stato, Mantua. Photo: Photocolor, Mantua

the Gonzagas as a keeper of jewels and precious metals and overseer of work for the Gonzaga wardrobe.²³ The above-mentioned inventory book for the Gonzagas, in Ghisi's hand, is dated December 16, 1577, on the first page, and entries are dated at intervals of one to six months through December 3, 1582. The book lists mostly jewels, but there are also some inventories of clothing. The first few pages, cataloguing the jewels belonging to the young Vincenzo Gonzaga (b. 1562; duke 1587–1612) are especially interesting because the list is illustrated by Giorgio's drawings (see fig. 6).²⁴ These illustrations, incidentally, and the pen strokes on one unfinished proof (see no. 27) are the only drawings we know to be in Ghisi's hand; although a few others have traditionally been attributed to him, these attributions all lack substance.²⁵

The eleven letters dating between 1578 and 1582, like the letter of 1562, give all too little information (see Letters). They accompany samples of collars or boots; they plead for the money to pay creditors: in the letter of November 8, 1581, Ghisi complains that he must make his way around town by back streets, avoiding the piazza, because if he ventures there he is "pulled by this one and that one" to whom money is owed. Despite his complaints, a large part of each letter is given over to the elaborate formulas of flattery standard for a sixteenth-century servitor addressing the person who was both his employer and his ruler. On two occasions, on May 12, 1581, and in August 1582, Ghisi is grateful that he has been forgiven fines—although like the letter of thanks from Paris these are tantalizing, for he does not mention the offense; in these letters the formulas become even more elaborate.

Ghisi's last letter, of December 2, 1582, implores the duke to help a friend who is ill. Giorgio himself may have caught the same virus and been unable to fight it off in the Mantuan dampness; he died of "fever and catarrh" on December 15, 1582, following an illness of about a week. His wife, Lucia Nicolini, survived him; he had no children.²⁶

Ghisi was both an engraver and a damascener. An engraver pushes a burin, a tool diamond-shaped in section, along a copperplate, leaving incised grooves that will catch ink. The grooves are made physically, that is, by the strength of the engraver's arm, not chemically, as etchings are, by the action of acid. Engraving demands a good deal of physical strength; it also requires the practitioner to know what he or she is doing, because it is difficult to change a line once it is incised. When the engraver's work is completed, the plate is inked and the flat surfaces wiped clean; then wet paper is forced, in a press, into the lines.

A damascener incises lines into the object to be decorated, and the lines are then inlaid with fine wire of precious metal; the burr from the groove is flattened over



Fig. 7. Detail of no. 3, *Silenus, a Satyr, and a Goat*



Fig. 8. Detail of no. 37, *Apollo, Pan, and a Putto Blowing a Horn*

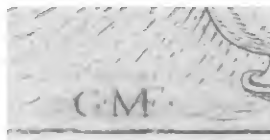


Fig. 9. Ghisi's large monogram, actual size, used on his early works. Detail of no. 3, *Silenus, a Satyr, and a Goat*



Fig. 10. Ghisi's small monogram, actual size, used on works after the mid-1540s. Detail of no. 43, *Angelica and Medoro*

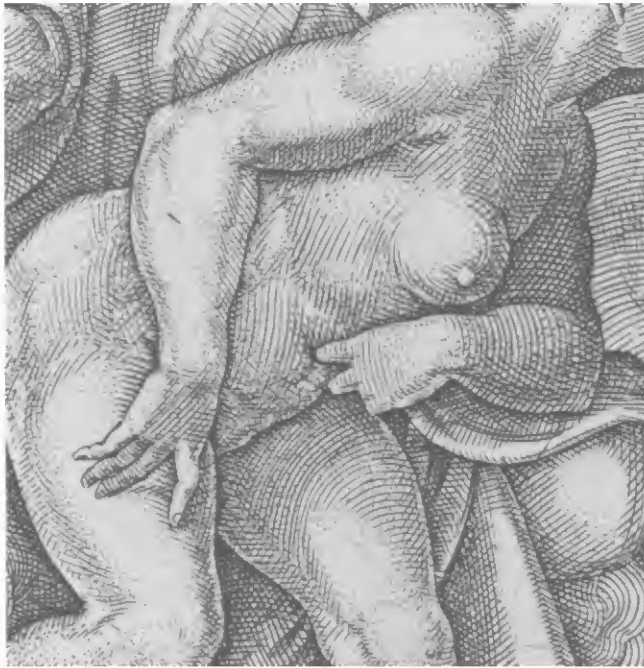


Fig. 11. Detail of no. 9, *The Last Judgment*



Fig. 12. Detail of no. 14, *The Nativity*

the wire to secure it in place. The two examples now known of Ghisi's work in this art justify Bertani's assessment of Ghisi as "a man truly rare" in this work.

Both engraving and damascening are metalworking arts. Although engravings are often referred to as works on paper, they are first of all works in metal. It thus would have been unexceptional for an artist to combine these two areas and logical for Giorgio to spend his later years as keeper of precious metals for the Gonzagas.

Ghisi was a reproductive engraver, that is, his work reproduced images designed by others. Two of his prints (nos. 56, 57) are designated as having been "invented" by him, but these images seem to derive from the work of other artists. Ghisi's most famous subject, *Allegory of Life* (no. 28), is also composed of elements that come from other artists, although the compelling combination can probably be ascribed to Giorgio. Ghisi's talent, however, lay not in invention but in the translation of images into the idiom of engraving.

Reproductive printmaking can be likened to photography. Its quality and character can vary tremendously; just as two photographers shooting the same scene can, by choice of film, lighting, exposure time, shutter speed, and other variables, have strikingly divergent results, so two reproductive engravers working from the same image can produce prints different from one another in effect and aesthetic value. If Ghisi's work is compared with other renditions of the same compositions (see nos. 10, 52) the difference is obvious.

In Ghisi's earliest prints the figures look like cutouts against a background, because forms delineated with hardly more than an outline loom white against a dark

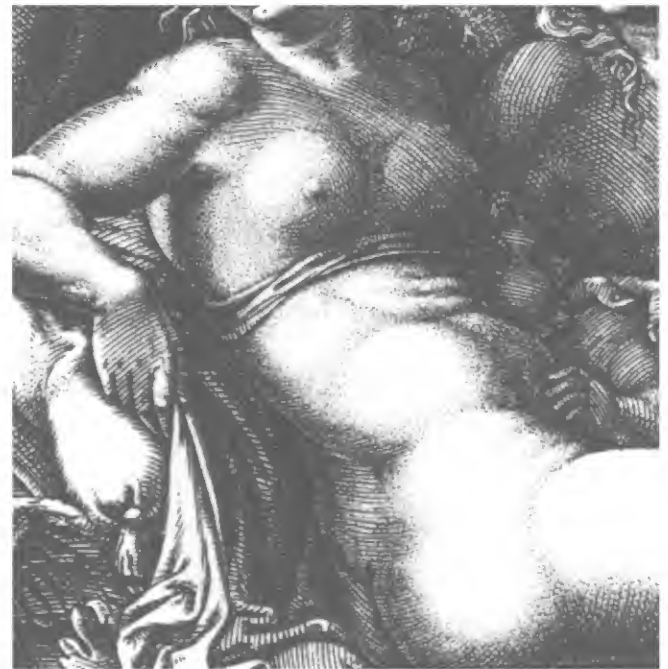


Fig. 13. Detail of no. 50, *Cupid and Psyche*

background (see the satyr or the goat in no. 3, or the seated figure at the left in no. 4), and because shading lines were placed at somewhat arbitrary angles (see the legs of Silenus in no. 3, fig. 7). The effect of intense but flickering light—a characteristic Ghisi doubtless learned from Giovanni Battista Scultori—adds to the feeling of insubstantiality in these prints. Ghisi's earliest prints are also characterized by the use of a relatively large mono-



Fig. 14. Detail of no. 17, *The Mystic Marriage of St. Catherine*, after Primaticcio

gram—with letters 4 or 5 mm. high—whereas beginning with *Danaë and the Infant Perseus Cast Out to Sea by Acrisius* (no. 6) his monogram is not more than about 2 mm. in height (see figs. 9, 10). Ghisi soon began to use shading lines that follow the contours of the forms (see nos. 5, 6), and dots of different size and density to create lighter shadows. His system, still incompletely developed when he worked on *The Last Judgment* (no. 9; see fig. 11) in the 1540s and even in *The Nativity* of 1554 (no. 14; see fig. 12), had long been perfected when he made *Cupid and Psyche* in 1574 (no. 50; see fig. 13). A comparison of the legs of Silenus in no. 3 with those of Apollo in no. 37—a print we date in the 1560s—illustrates the development from Ghisi's early works to his high style (figs. 7, 8). In fact, as Ghisi developed his method, even the smallest detail of the backgrounds became absolutely systematized. The relatively unsystematic rendering of the mountains in the background of *The Mystic Marriage of St. Catherine* after Primaticcio (no. 17; see fig. 14), as compared with those in the engraving of the same subject after Correggio, of 1575 (no. 51; see fig. 15), corroborates other indications that the former print—which is undated—must have been executed much earlier.

From the beginning Ghisi manifested a *horror vacui*, and whenever he could, in works not too august to tamper with, he filled in backgrounds that in his models were empty or nearly so (see nos. 3, 14, 41, 50, 51). He added inventive townscapes and surrounded his figures with luxuriant flora, giving his works an ornate, embellished quality. The density and parallelism of his incised lines also contribute to the weighty, ornamented look of the engravings. Ghisi as engraver and Ghisi as decorator of metal objects were not far apart. Yet no matter how embellished the prints, Ghisi's figures always stand out clearly from the background; the ornamental quality never overwhelms the main function of Ghisi's engraved lines, which is to represent the figures clearly



Fig. 15. Detail of no. 51, *The Mystic Marriage of St. Catherine*, after Correggio

and understandably. Ghisi seems to have acquired a taste for tenebrism in the north of Europe, which was first manifested in *The Nativity* after Bronzino (no. 14), was shown to wonderful advantage in *Hercules Victorious Over the Hydra* (no. 24), and culminated in the *Allegory of Life* (no. 28).

At the height of his powers, in the works from about 1556 to the mid-1570s, Ghisi produced images truly stunning in their clarity and their control. But even though Ghisi's work is of high quality, he probably did not think of himself as a creative artist. He was not an experimental printmaker; no engraver was—it was too laborious to change a line once it had been made. Thus the different states of Ghisi's prints do not reflect, as they would with a Rembrandt or a Whistler—both etchers—an effort to achieve varied aesthetic effects. Ghisi perceived at the outset what he wanted and went straight for the end result.

In most cases, the only difference between the states of Ghisi's prints is the addition of one or another publisher's name. For twelve images (nos. 10–12, 14–16, 21, 22, 27, 28, 41, 44), there exist proofs pulled from the plate before it was finished, providing valuable evidence of the way a sixteenth-century engraver worked. It might be assumed that the engraver would do the important figures first and then fill in the background, but this was not the method commonly used. Instead, the engraver tended to work from one edge of the plate to the other, completing every detail in one area before moving to the next; in *The Calumny of Apelles* (no. 27), for example, the background was finished before some of the principal figures.

A detail of the figure of Innocence—the child being pulled backward by the hair—in an unfinished proof of *The Calumny of Apelles* (fig. 16) shows how Ghisi worked. He had filled in the floor, the baluster, and most of the surrounding figures but had engraved only the hair and

some outlines of the arms and legs of the child when he pulled a proof to see how the print looked. He then sketched in pen lines to create form and shadow in this figure, translating Penni's model—now unknown—into completely linear language. When he picked up the burin again he followed the sketch, not absolutely line for line, but very closely, for the location and direction of lines to be engraved (fig. 17).

In one rare case a first state of one of Ghisi's prints shows an unsatisfactory image in need of adjustment: in *Venus and Adonis* (no. 42) Venus's leg juts out at an anatomically impossible angle. Giorgio's skill at this point in his career enabled him to mask the correction so that without careful study the change is not apparent (figs. 18, 19). Nevertheless, this example is instructive in showing the technical limitations of engraving; the earlier position of the leg is still discernible, and such dramatic changes as Rembrandt made in his *Ecce Homo* or *Three Crosses* would be out of the question.

For almost all of Ghisi's prints, there were editions before any publisher's name was put onto the plate, and in some cases there was a long interval before a publisher's name appears. States subsequent to these are simply marks of the plate's passing from one publisher to the next. This process occurred over a long period of time, often several centuries. The fact that impressions from Ghisi's prints were still saleable two centuries after they were made is also of interest, of course, for the study of the taste of the later age.

Which works did Ghisi's engravings reproduce? Ghisi was Italian, and although he spent about half of his working life in northern Europe, and almost half of his prints were produced there (nos. 11–39), only one was certainly made after a northern artist, and that was the Italianate Lambert Lombard (no. 12). The model for the *Portrait of François Duaren* (no. 20) was probably created by a French artist, but the rest of Ghisi's models (except for one antique Greek statue) were Italian. The artists he reproduced were, for the most part, his contemporaries, and the works that he made accessible to a wide public were "modern art." Most were in the Mannerist style that prevailed in both the north and south of Europe during nearly all of Ghisi's working life.

Not surprisingly, the artist whose works Ghisi reproduced in largest number—ten in all—was Giulio Romano. Thirteen of Ghisi's prints are after two artists who, like himself, were Italians working in France, Primaticcio and Luca Penni. He also reproduced works by Michelangelo, Raphael, Bronzino, Correggio, Salviati, Bertani, Giulio Campi, Perino del Vaga, and his brother Teodoro. To a large extent, the selection of works Ghisi reproduced stems naturally from the centers where he worked; it also, presumably, reflects the marketability of these images.

The subjects of Ghisi's prints also show, in broad



Fig. 16. Detail of no. 27, *The Calumny of Apelles*, unfinished proof



Fig. 17. Detail of no. 27, *The Calumny of Apelles*, finished state



Fig. 18. Detail of no. 42, *Venus and Adonis*, state i

terms, the taste of his day. He made twenty-five prints portraying religious subjects and thirty-eight depicting secular ones. Of the secular subjects, twenty portray figures from classical mythology, seven represent episodes or figures from ancient history, and seven are allegorical or literary subjects; one depicts an ancient statue, two are portraits, and one is a personal emblem. This breakdown provides a fair sampling of the tastes and intellectual concerns of the mid-sixteenth century.

To know that Ghisi was a reproductive engraver, however, and to be able to list the artists whose work he reproduced and the subjects he depicted is still to know all too little of the circumstances of his life. What were his daily routines? How did he procure the drawings he followed? By whom and how much was he paid? What were his relations with other artists, or with publishers? None of the documents we have unearthed answers these questions.

The importance of reproductive prints in the commerce of artistic ideas during the sixteenth century is exemplified by the length and detail of Vasari's *Life of Marcantonio Raimondi*, which is, in effect, a chapter dedicated to reproductive printmaking. Yet Vasari gives little enlightenment about actual practice. The closest he



Fig. 19. Detail of no. 42, *Venus and Adonis*, state ii

comes to discussing dealings between publishers and engravers is when he writes:

But I must not be silent about the above-mentioned Antonio Lanferri [Lafreri] and Tommaso Barlacchi, for they, as well as others, have employed many young men to engrave plates after original drawings by the hands of a vast number of masters, insomuch that it is better to say nothing of these works, lest it should become wearisome.²⁷

This passage confirms that Lafreri commissioned subjects to be reproduced. Vasari's text also indirectly demonstrates a fact that, upon consideration, must be self-evident: engravers did not bring their copperplates and burins to places like the Sistine Chapel (see nos. 9, 44–49), the Oratorio of San Giovanni Decollato (see no. 10), or the Church of Santa Maria del Popolo (see no. 52) and incise the lines into the plates *sur place*. An engraving by necessity would have been made from a drawing that could have been carried to the studio where the engraver worked, be it his own residence or the establishment of a publisher such as Lafreri or Cock.²⁸

If, as far as engravers are concerned, Vasari's passage tells us only that publishers commissioned certain engravings and that the engravers always worked from drawings, in establishing the latter fact the text does have

ramifications for the study of the works reproduced. It has long been recognized in the case of Marcantonio's engravings after Raphael's designs that they reproduce not the finished work but preparatory drawings. There has been much discussion, and disagreement still exists, for example, about whether Marcantonio's engraving *Apollo and the Muses* represents an early or a late stage in the development of that design.²⁹ The same, however, has not been recognized for Ghisi's engravings. It was recently written of Ghisi's print after Salviati's *Visitation* (no. 10) that the discrepancies between engraving and fresco "are probably to be attributed to Giorgio's burin,"³⁰ as though Ghisi would have made significant changes in Salviati's composition for no reason other than his personal preference. It seems to us that the discrepancies are there because Ghisi was following a drawing intermediate between the one known at present and the finished fresco.

Beyond this, little concerning the publication of prints in the sixteenth century in general, and of Ghisi's engravings in particular, is certain. If we assume that the major publishers Lafreri and Cock commissioned Ghisi to engrave the works they published, does this circumstance imply that all of these works were regarded as noteworthy in their day? Some almost assuredly were, and in fact the importance of the work may be indicated by the importance, as it were, of the print. Ghisi's engraving of *The Last Supper* after Lambert Lombard (no. 12) is a case in point. This large plate was published by Hieronymus Cock, the artist who created the design was identified, it was dated, and the print was dedicated to Antonio Perenoto, the chief counselor of the Holy Roman Emperor Charles V. Yet scholars writing about Lombard have ignored these indications that a work of a certain prominence was being reproduced and have presumed that the model was an obscure easel painting or existed only in the form of a drawing. It is much more likely that the print after Lombard reproduces a work well known in its time, and probably one visible in a building accessible to the public.

Would the same have been true of Bertani's *Judgment of Paris*, also published by Cock—although not dedicated to an important personage? It seems doubtful, and in this instance it is also possible that Ghisi brought his friend's drawing to the publisher rather than vice versa.

Of the plates that never received a publisher's imprint, or received one after they had existed for some time, even less is known. The selection of these subjects seems haphazard in the extreme. For example, Ghisi reproduced three images designed for the Loggia of the Grotto in the Palazzo del Te. These, however, are by no means the beginning of a systematic rendering of this series into prints. Two of the engravings were among Ghisi's early works (nos. 1, 3), and of these one shows an allegorical scene with narrative content whereas the other is a vignette in a tondo; neither is identified in any way. A quarter of a century later Ghisi engraved another of the allegorical subjects (no. 26). This time the print is identified as being

after a work by Giulio Romano in the Palazzo del Te, but Ghisi's engraving style by this date is so different that had the frescoes not survived it would have been difficult to link this print with no. 1.

Who decided that these, and many other seemingly arbitrarily chosen images, should be engraved—the engraver alone? The artist who designed the image? Possibly, but for the second allegorical subject after Giulio Romano mentioned above and also nos. 25, 41, and 50 after that artist, and for one of the four after Luca Penni (no. 27), the artist had died before Ghisi made the plate. A patron, as was perhaps the case with the *Allegory of Life* (no. 28), Ghisi's most famous print? Although a name is prominently displayed and two interrelated coats of arms are visible in the background of this print, the identity of Ghisi's patron, or patrons, remains obscure. Were there publisher-printsellers in business who did not put their names on the plates? Vasari recorded that Luca Penni was a publisher (see no. 17) and listed at length the prints he published, but Penni's name does not appear as such on any of them. (Penni, at any rate, died in 1557, so he could not have published any of Ghisi's prints after that date.)

Perhaps Ghisi himself chose and published the engravings that—apparently—were not commissioned by an established publisher. It is tempting to try to discern a purpose or pattern in them. These prints fall into two groups, the early subjects after Giulio Romano and those produced in northern Europe after Ghisi stopped working for Cock. Among the later group the subjects of more than a few prints have some aspect of mystery, and the three prints bearing the French royal privilege seem to be especially foreboding: *The Three Fates* (no. 25) is self-evidently an ominous subject; *Allegory of Birth* (no. 26) bears a fatalistic message emphasizing the importance of the hour of one's birth; and *The Calumny of Apelles* (no. 27) conspicuously includes the figure of Time with his daughter Truth, signifying that in time the truth will be revealed. If no pointed allusion is intended, at the very least Ghisi had a taste for enigma.

The print always described as Ghisi's masterpiece, and as enigmatic, the *Allegory of Life* (no. 28), falls among this later group. This work is connected with alchemical beliefs, and subjects such as *Venus and the Rose* (no. 22), in which Venus's blood changes the color of the rose from white to red, may also refer to alchemy; the change from white to red is one of the steps in the alchemical process, and the book to which this print is related, the *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili*, is listed among alchemical texts. Ghisi's frontispiece for Bertani's treatise on the Ionic order, *Hercules Victorious Over the Hydra* (no. 24), includes a figure performing a chemical operation, and Ghisi's other print portraying Hercules (no. 41) may allude to alchemy as well. Alchemy alone, however, is neither a sufficient reason for mystery nor a sufficient explanation of the contents of these prints.

The sixteenth century guards its secrets well. If spe-

cific allusions to contemporary events, or statements from a patron or from Ghisi himself, were hidden in these engravings four centuries ago, they remain so today, and the lines for future research remain open. But while the discovery of a key that would unlock some of these mysteries—if, in fact, such a key exists—would surely be of interest, it would not alter our appreciation of the prints. For some, the enigmatic quality only enhances their appeal.

The historiography of Ghisi's prints should be summarized briefly. The great eighteenth-century French collector and connoisseur Pierre-Jean Mariette (1694–1774) drew up a list of prints by Giorgio Ghisi that included all but two of the prints in the present catalogue; the only ones missing from his list are the two portraits, of François Duaren (no. 20) and of Michelangelo (no. 39). He included a few more, some that we reject (see Rejected Works), and some small emblems that may well survive but have been lost from view: Mariette listed three “devices” and the arms of the dukes of Mantua among Giorgio's prints, but only one emblem is known to us (no. 40). Mariette's truly astounding knowledge of prints far surpassed that of any other cataloguer of his time, and it is because Adam Bartsch based his catalogue on Mariette's extraordinary notes—which, as mentioned above, were not published until the twentieth century³¹—that Bartsch has remained the standard reference for the nearly two hundred years since his work was published.³²

Giovanni Gori Gandellini³³ in Italy and Michel Huber³⁴ in Zurich published lists of Ghisi's works before Bartsch, but Gori Gandellini listed thirty-four prints by Ghisi and Huber, thirty; subtracting duplications, their lists together include only forty-three prints.

The work of Alexandre Zanetti, published in 1837, is worth citing, for even though it is a catalogue of a collection rather than an effort to list all of Ghisi's prints—and as such is frankly based on Bartsch—the author makes intelligent, perceptive comments on the sixty works included.³⁵ Zanetti knew of both the drawing by Bertani of *The Judgment of Paris* in the Malaspina Collection (see no. 16), and the unfinished proof, already in the French royal collection, of the *Hercules Resting from His Labors* (no. 41), works that other catalogues (excepting that of the Malaspina Collection itself)³⁶ do not mention.

In Nagler's multivolume catalogue, of which the volume including Ghisi was also published in 1837, no additions were made to Bartsch.³⁷ Carlo d'Arco's work exclusively on the Mantuan engravers lists sixty-five prints as by Giorgio, describing and commenting on each one, but he includes over twenty that are not Giorgio's, he mentions *The School of Athens* (no. 11) and *Allegory of Birth* (no. 26) twice, and he ascribes two of Giorgio's prints (nos. 7, 8) to Giovanni Battista Scultori.³⁸ D'Arco's misstatements regarding the prints, however, are compensated for by his assiduous sorting and publication of

documents from the Mantuan archives, for it is this work that establishes many of the fixed points in Ghisi's life.³⁹

LeBlanc's list,⁴⁰ like Nagler's, does not add any prints to Bartsch's, and the catalogues of J. D. Passavant⁴¹ and Joseph Heller—updated by Andreas Andresen⁴²—make additions that pertain to states or copies but do not add any engravings or comment on the contents of the prints.

In the twentieth century, no further cataloguing of Ghisi's work was done until quite recently. Paul Kristeller wrote the entry on Ghisi in Thieme–Becker;⁴³ he assessed Ghisi's work and style judiciously, although he thought Ghisi would have had to have been in Rome to engrave the subjects after the Stanza della Segnatura (nos. 11, 13), whereas there is no reason he could not have worked after drawings in Antwerp. Kristeller also wrote that *The Last Judgment* (no. 9) was made “before 1556,” but we have not been able to discover on what this statement was based. Mary Pittaluga, writing in 1928 on Italian cinquecento prints, dismissed Ghisi's work as of no interest,⁴⁴ although Petrucci never shared this opinion.⁴⁵ Henri Zerner's brief but cogent article in 1962 did much to reestablish Ghisi's reputation,⁴⁶ and in Marani and Perina's volume on the arts in Mantua, Ghisi's work is described with esteem.⁴⁷ Konrad Oberhuber, in his catalogue to the exhibition of sixteenth-century Italian prints from the Albertina, called Ghisi “the most important [Italian] engraver of the middle of the century.”⁴⁸ Giorgio's engravings were included in the renowned exhibition *L'Ecole de Fontainebleau*, held in Paris and Ottawa in 1972.⁴⁹ In 1979, Paolo Bellini's catalogue of Ghisi's prints in the Raccolta Bertarelli in Milan included a detailed commentary on twenty-three prints and a more thorough biography of Ghisi than any previously published.⁵⁰

Most recently, in 1980, an exhibition in Rome was devoted entirely to the work of the four sixteenth-century Mantuan engravers, Giovanni Battista, Diana, and Adamo Scultori and Giorgio Ghisi. This exhibition comprised the complete holdings of the Gabinetto delle Stampe and the Calcografia Nazionale of Rome; thus the accompanying catalogue by Stefania Massari is not a catalogue raisonné, as the Gabinetto delle Stampe does not hold an impression of every one of Ghisi's prints.⁵¹ Nonetheless, Massari attempted to order Ghisi's prints chronologically, something no previous cataloguer had done, and every print in the collection and every plate held by the Calcografia, as well as a considerable amount of related material, is illustrated.

The present book combines two complementary efforts. The catalogue raisonné—that is, the full description of each state of every print—was compiled through careful researches over a number of years by Michal and R. E. Lewis. My research on the sources and meanings of the images Ghisi reproduced began in 1980 and to a certain extent could be carried out independently.

As work on the project progressed, however, the Lewises and I conferred and consulted more and more often, and it provided great satisfaction on both sides as the art-historical research and the evidence in the prints themselves proved mutually corroborative. The chronological order of the prints, based primarily on style but also on such circumstantial evidence as watermarks, was established entirely through joint effort. Although the Introduction and the texts of the entries bear my name, it must be made clear that these owe a great debt to the work of the Lewises and are truly the result of this most pleasant collaboration.

S. B.

Notes:

1. Giovanni Battista Bertani, *Gli oscuri et difficili passi dell'opera ionica di Vitruvio* (Mantua: Venturino Ruffinello, 1558), leaf Ev recto.
2. Giorgio Vasari, *Lives of the Most Eminent Painters, Sculptors, and Architects*, trans. Gaston Du C. de Vere. 3 vols. (1st ed. 1912. New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1979), p. 1,642; *Le vite de' più eccellenti pittori, scultori ed architettori*, ed. Gaetano Milanesi. 9 vols. (Florence: G. C. Sansoni, 1906), vi, p. 490. Throughout the catalogue de Vere's translations are used; for the convenience of scholars, references are also given to the Milanesi edition.
3. [Pierre-Jean] Mariette, "Catalogue de l'oeuvre gravé des Ghisi," ed. Jean Adhémar, *Nouvelles de l'estampe*, no. 9 (1968), pp. 367–85.
4. Adam Bartsch, *Le peintre graveur*, 21 vols. (New ed. Leipzig: J. A. Barth, 1854–76), xv, pp. 373–452.
5. According to Gioconda Albricci, "Le incisioni di G. Battista Scultori (The Engravings of G. B. Scultori)," *Print Collector, Il conoscitore di stampe*, no. 33–34 (September–December 1976), p. 11, "the first to suggest Scultori as their true surname was Zani," who did so in the *Enciclopedia metodico critico-ragionato delle belle arti*, 2 pts. (Parma: Tipografia Ducale, 1817–24), pt. 1, xii, p. 134. Carlo d'Arco, in *Di cinque valenti incisori mantovani del secolo XVI e delle stampe da loro operate* (Mantua: Ferdinando Elmucci, 1840), gave their names correctly, as have many others in more recent years.
6. Chiara Tellini Perina, "Teodoro Ghisi: L'immagine fra maniera e controriforma," in Dario A. Franchini et al., *La scienza a corte* (Rome: Bulzoni, 1979), pp. 239–68; and "Per il catalogo di Teodoro Ghisi," *Arte lombarda*, n.s., no. 58–59 (1981), pp. 47–51.
7. First published in d'Arco, *Cinque valenti incisori*, p. 41.
8. Giorgio Ghisi's family tree, going back six generations to the middle of the fourteenth century, is set forth in Carlo d'Arco, *Delle arti e degli artefici di Mantova*, 2 vols. (Mantua: Giovanni Aganzi, 1857), II, p. 267.
9. See d'Arco, *Cinque valenti incisori*, p. 69.
10. Francesco Ehrle, *Roma prima di Sisto V, la pianta di Roma Du Pérac-Laféry del 1577* (Rome: Danesi, 1908); F. Roland, "Un franc-comtois éditeur et marchand d'estampes à Rome au XVI^e siècle, Antoine Lafrery (1512–1577)," *Mémoires de la Société d'Emulation du Doubs*, ser. 7, 5 (1911), pp. 320–78; Christian Huelsen, "Das Speculum Romanae Magnificentiae des Antonio Lafreri," in *Collectanea Variae Doctrinae Leoni S. Olschkei* (Munich: Jacques Rosenthal, 1921), pp. 121–70; Bates Lowry, "Notes on the Speculum Romanae Magnificentiae and Related Publications," *Art Bulletin*, 34 (March 1952), pp. 46–50.
11. See Timothy A. Riggs, *Hieronymus Cock, Printmaker and Publisher* (New York: Garland, 1977), pp. 29–30.
12. Besides Riggs's book, see A. J. J. Delen, *Histoire de la gravure dans les anciens Pays-Bas et dans les provinces belges jusqu'à la fin du XVI^e siècle*, 2 vols. (Paris: F. de Nobele, n.d. Reprint, New York: Da Capo Press, 1960); Caroline Karpinski, "At the Sign of the Four Winds," *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin*, 18 (1959), pp. 8–17.
13. Riggs, *Hieronymus Cock*, pp. 46f.
14. Ph. Rombouts and Th. van Lerijs, *De liggeren en andere historische archieven der Antwerpsche sint Lucasgilde*, 2 vols. (Antwerp: Feliciaen Baggerman, 1872), I, p. 175.
15. For the shield, see: Charles Hercules Read, *The Waddesdon Bequest: Catalogue of the Works of Art Bequeathed to the British Museum by Baron Ferdinand Rothschild, M.P.* (London: Chiswick Press, 1902), no. 5; Sir Guy Francis Laking, *A Record of European Arms and Armour Through Seven Centuries*, 5 vols. (London: G. Bell and Sons, 1920–21), IV, pp. 230–31, fig. 1302; James G. Mann, "The Lost Armoury of the Gonzagas," *The Archaeological Journal*, 95 (1938), p. 246. Ghisi as an armorer is discussed by Wendelin Boeheim, *Meister der Waffenschmiedekunst vom XIV. bis ins XVIII. Jahrhundert* (Berlin: W. Moeser, 1897), pp. 75–76. John Forrest Hayward, *Virtuoso Goldsmiths and the Triumph of Mannerism, 1540–1620* (London: Sotheby Parke Bernet, 1976), p. 321, mentions Ghisi among the goldsmith-armorers but does not discuss his work at length.
16. Roland, "Antoine Lafrery," p. 341.
17. Archivio di Stato di Mantova, Archivio Gonzaga. This letter was discovered by M. Rotunno and mentioned in her thesis for the Scuola di Perfezionamento, Università Cattolica, Milan. (It has unfortunately not been possible for us to see this thesis.) The information was published by Paolo Bellini, "Incisioni di Giorgio Ghisi," *Rassegna di studi e di notizie*, 7 (1979), pp. 120 and 123, note II.
18. Archivio di Stato di Mantova, Notaio Lorenzo Corradi, 1569, 4 ottobre. This document is so difficult to read as to be virtually indecipherable, although a few words can be discerned. Grateful acknowledgment is made to Renato Berzaghi for letting us know of its existence.
19. Carl von Pulszky, *Chefs-d'oeuvre d'orfèvrerie ayant figuré à l'exposition de Budapest*, 2 vols. (Paris: A. Lévy, 1888), II, p. 85.
20. Archivio di Stato di Mantova, Archivio Gonzaga, busta 389. Grateful acknowledgment is again made to Renato Berzaghi, who discovered this document in the archives and communicated it to us.
21. D'Arco, *Arti e artefici*, pp. 138–39.
22. See Iain Fenlon, *Music and Patronage in Sixteenth-Century Mantua* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980), chap. 3, "Guglielmo Gonzaga and the Santa Barbara Project," pp. 79–117; and in David Chambers and Jane Martineau, eds., *Splendours of the Gonzaga*, exhib. cat. (London: Victoria and Albert Museum, 1981), p. 90 and no. 209.
23. In his comments on Teodoro Ghisi's *Venus and Adonis*, Luzio mentions that both Teodoro and Giorgio were employed by the Gonzagas, Giorgio at a higher salary than his brother: Alessandro Luzio, *La galleria dei Gonzaga venduta all'Inghilterra nel 1627–28* (Milan: L. F. Cogliati, 1913), p. 96.
24. Archivio di Stato di Mantova, Archivio Gonzaga, busta 400. See Chambers and Martineau, *Splendours*, no. 238.
25. These drawings are: *A Battle Between Greeks and Amazons*, in Turin, catalogued in Aldo Bertini, *I disegni italiani della Biblioteca Reale di Torino* (Turin: Istituto Poligrafico dello Stato, Libreria dello Stato, 1958), no. 166; *Portrait of Lambert Suavius*, Kunstmuseum, Düsseldorf, which Friedrich W. Heckmanns thinks is more likely a self-portrait (letter, January 1984); *A Marine Nymph*, Albertina, Vienna, inventory no. 2766, a drawing related to the series of prints after Perino del Vaga that we reject (see Rejected Works 1–4), catalogued in Bernice Davidson, *Mostra di disegni di Perino del Vaga e la sua cerchia* (Florence: Gabinetto Disegno e Stampe degli Uffizi, 1966), no. 43; two drawings in the Uffizi,

Florence, of which one (no. 404 s) has been reattributed to Girolamo da Carpi, and of the other (no. 403 s) Annamaria Petrioli Tofani writes, "non ho invece alcuna notizia" (letter, September 1984).

26. D'Arco, *Arti e artefici*, p. 268.

27. Vasari (de Vere), p. 1,259; (Milanesi) v, p. 431.

28. Marie Mauquoy-Hendrickx, in *Les estampes des Wierix, conservées au Cabinet des Estampes de la Bibliothèque Royale Albert I^{er}*, 3 vols. (Brussels: Bibliothèque Royale Albert I^{er}, 1978–83), iii, fasc. 2, p. 577, no. 309, writes, "rien n'empêchait ce célèbre graveur d'être à Anvers en 1551, puisqu'il a pu emporter les dessins des fresques de Raphaël pour les graver, car il est invraisemblable qu'il les ait gravées sur le vif."

29. See Innis H. Shoemaker and Elizabeth Broun, *The Engravings of Marcantonio Raimondi*, exhib. cat. (Lawrence, Kansas: Spencer Museum of Art, 1981), no. 48, for a summary of opinions on the question.

30. Stefania Massari, *Incisori mantovani del '500, Giovan Battista, Adamo, Diana Scultori e Giorgio Ghisi dalle collezioni del Gabinetto Nazionale delle Stampe e della Calcografia Nazionale*, exhib. cat. (Rome: Istituto Nazionale per la Grafica, 1980), p. 136.

31. See note 3.

32. See note 4. Bartsch's original edition was published between 1803 and 1821.

33. Giovanni Gori Gandellini, *Notizie storiche degli intagliatori* (1st ed. 1771. 2nd ed. Siena: Onorato Porri, 1808), pp. 197–99.

34. Michel Huber, *Manuel des curieux et des amateurs de l'art*, 9 vols. (Zurich: Orell, Fussli, Gessner, Fuesslin, 1797–1808), iii, pp. 136–40.

35. Alexandre Zanetti, *Le premier siècle de la calcographie, ou catalogue raisonné des estampes du cabinet de feu M. le Comte Léopold Cicognara* (Venice: Joseph Antonelli, 1837), pp. 484–504.

36. Luigi Malaspina di Sannazaro, *Catalogo di una raccolta di stampe antiche*, 5 vols. (Milan: Gio. Bernadoni, 1824), ii, pp. 161–67.

37. G. K. Nagler, *Neues allgemeines Künstler-Lexicon*, 22 vols. (Munich: E. A. Fleischmann, 1835–52), v, pp. 137–41.

38. D'Arco, *Cinque valenti incisori*, pp. 39–53, 69, 97–116.

39. See notes 7, 8, 21, 26.

40. Charles LeBlanc, *Manuel de l'amateur d'estampes*, 4 vols. (Paris: Emile Bouillon, 1854–89), ii, pp. 294–97, nos. 1–70.

41. J. D. Passavant, *Le peintre-graveur*, 6 vols. (Leipzig: Rudolph Weigel, 1860–64), vi, pp. 137–39.

42. Joseph Heller, *Handbuch für Kupferstichsammler oder Lexikon der Kupferstecher, Maler-Radirer und Formschneider*, 2 vols. 2nd ed. rev. by Andreas Andresen. (Leipzig: T. O. Weigel, 1870–73), i, pp. 571–73, nos. 1–22.

43. Paul Kristeller, "Giorgio Ghisi," in *Allgemeines Lexikon der bildenden Künstler, von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart*, 37 vols. Vol. xiii, ed. Ulrich Thieme (Leipzig: E. A. Seemann, 1920), pp. 563–64.

44. Mary Pittaluga, *L'incisione italiana nel cinquecento* (Milan: Ulrico Hoepli, 1928), pp. 190–92.

45. Alfredo Petrucci, *Panorama della incisione italiana, il cinquecento* (Rome: Carlo Bestetti, 1964), pp. 52–54 and articles cited p. 97, note 66.

46. Henri Zerner, "Ghisi et la gravure maniériste à Mantoue," *L'Oeil*, no. 88 (April 1962), pp. 26–32, 76.

47. Ercolano Marani and Chiara Perina, *Mantova: Le arti*, 3 vols. (Mantua: Istituto Carlo d'Arco per la storia di Mantova, 1961–65), iii, pp. 676–79.

48. Konrad Oberhuber, *Die Kunst der Graphik III: Renaissance in Italien 16. Jahrhundert*, exhib. cat. (1st ed. Vienna: Graphische Sammlung Albertina, 1966. Reprint, New York: Arno/Worldwide, 1968), p. 25.

49. *L'Ecole de Fontainebleau*, exhib. cat. (Paris: Grand Palais, 1972), nos. 345–51.

50. Bellini, "Incisioni," pp. 119–75.

51. Massari, *Incisori mantovani*, nos. 173–240.

A Note on the Catalogue Raisonné

*T*his catalogue raisonné is the product of research conducted intermittently over the past twenty years. For the student attracted to Giorgio Ghisi's engravings there was much to learn; existing catalogues were inadequate, sometimes contradictory, or even inaccurate. Our goal was to study as many examples of prints attributed to Ghisi as possible and to determine their authenticity, chronology, and states from our own observation. Our attitude was that the print itself should be the primary source of information about Ghisi's work.

One of the great pleasures of our work has been the occasion to visit over fifty print rooms in this country and in Europe in search not only of Ghisi's prints, but also of drawings he might have used as sources or models. (A list of the major repositories of Ghisi's engravings and related works visited follows the Acknowledgments.) Another great joy, beginning in 1980, has been working with Suzanne Boorsch. Though we each had our own entries and appendices to write, our work commingled. We have shared information, discussed problems, and worked together on many elements, such as titles, watermarks, and the chronological order of the prints—itself a thorny problem created by the large number of undated prints and the changes of style resulting from the variety of works Ghisi reproduced.

A few of the guidelines followed in compiling and presenting the catalogue raisonné should be mentioned:

§ Each state records a deliberate change or changes in the plate, including the addition or erasure of letters. An unfinished proof has been considered a state, whereas an accidental scratch or break has not. (The Appendix Ghisi's Publishers presents data about each publisher whose address appears on Ghisi's prints.)

§ References cited are Adam Bartsch's catalogue (see Concordance) plus those works that, in our view, make a contribution to our knowledge of the print. We have not included references that merely repeat past catalogues or are inaccurate and therefore misleading.

§ In measurements, height precedes width. No reproduction is larger than actual size; most have necessarily been reduced. We have not reproduced copies, but have tried to describe them in such a way as to render them easily distinguishable from the originals. We have confined our list of copies and other versions to the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.

§ Within inscription quotations ligatures have been given as separate letters, but Latin abbreviations have been retained (for example, *c̄v̄*, *GEORG*⁹).

§ The monogram in figure 9 is referred to as Ghisi's large monogram. Any other reference is to the monogram in figure 10.

M. L. and R. E. L.

Bibliographical Works Cited in Abbreviated Form

D'ARCO

d'Arco, Carlo. *Di cinque valenti incisori mantovani del secolo XVI e delle stampe da loro operate*. Mantua: Ferdinando Elmucci, 1840. Ghisi's works are listed pp. 97–116.

BARTSCH

Bartsch, Adam. *Le peintre graveur*, 21 vols. New ed. Leipzig: J. A. Barth, 1854–76. Ghisi's works are listed in vol. xv, pp. 384–416.

DIMIER

Dimier, L. *Le Primatice, peintre, sculpteur et architecte des rois de France*. Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1900. Ghisi's works are listed pp. 494–95.

FONTAINEBLEAU

L'Ecole de Fontainebleau, exhib. cat. Paris: Grand Palais, 1972.

HEINECKEN

Heinecken, Karl Heinrich von. *Nachrichten von Künstlern und Kunst-Sachen*. Leipzig: Johann Paul Krauss, 1768.

HELLER-ANDRESEN

Heller, Joseph. *Handbuch für Kupferstichsammler oder Lexikon der Kupferstecher, Maler-Radierer und Formschneider*, 2 vols. 2nd ed. rev. by Andreas Andresen. Leipzig: T. O. Weigel, 1870–73. Ghisi's works are listed in vol. 1, pp. 571–73.

HERBET

Herbet, Félix. “Les graveurs de l'école de Fontainebleau,” *Annales de la Société Historique et Archéologique du Gatinais*. 1869–1902. Reprint, Amsterdam: B. M. Israel, 1969. Ghisi's works are listed in sec. 3, app., pp. 131–32 and sec. 5, p. 236.

HOLLSTEIN (DUTCH AND FLEMISH)

Hollstein, F. W. H. *Dutch and Flemish Etchings, Engravings, and Woodcuts, ca. 1450–1700*, 28 vols. Amsterdam: Menno Hertzberger and later Van Gendt, 1948+.

HOLLSTEIN (GERMAN)

Hollstein, F. W. H. *German Engravings, Etchings, and Woodcuts, ca. 1400–1700*, 28 vols. Amsterdam: Menno Hertzberger and later Van Gendt, 1954+.

HUELSEN

Huelsen, Christian. “Das Speculum Romanae Magnificentiae des Antonio Lafreri,” in *Collectanae Variae Doctrinae Leoni S. Olschki*. Munich: Jacques Rosenthal, 1921, pp. 121–70.

LEBLANC

LeBlanc, Charles. *Manuel de l'amateur d'estampes*, 4 vols. Paris: Emile Bouillon, 1854–89. Ghisi's works are listed in vol. II, pp. 294–97.

MARIETTE

Mariette, [Pierre-Jean]. “Catalogue de l'oeuvre gravé des Ghisi,” ed. Jean Adhémar, *Nouvelles de l'estampe*, no. 9 (1968), pp. 367–85.

MASSARI

Massari, Stefania. *Incisori mantovani del '500, Giovan Battista, Adamo, Diana Scultori e Giorgio Ghisi dalle collezioni del Gabinetto Nazionale delle Stampe e della Calcografia Nazionale*, exhib. cat. Rome: Istituto Nazionale per la Grafica, 1980. Ghisi's works are listed pp. 117–67, nos. 173–240.

NAGLER

Nagler, G. K. *Neues allgemeines Künstler-Lexicon*, 22 vols. Munich: E. A. Fleischmann, 1835–52. Ghisi's works are listed in vol. v, pp. 137–41.

NAGLER Monogrammisten

Nagler, G. K. *Die Monogrammisten*, 5 vols. Nieuwkoop: B. de Graaf, 1966.

PASSAVANT

Passavant, J. D. *Le peintre-graveur*, 6 vols. Leipzig: Rudolph Weigel, 1860–64. Ghisi's works are listed in vol. VI, pp. 137–39.

ROBERT-DUMESNIL

Robert-Dumesnil, A. P. F. *Le peintre-graveur français*, 11 vols. Paris: 1835–71. Reprint, Paris: F. de Nobele, 1967.

WEIGEL

Weigel, Rudolph. *Kunstlager-Catalog*, 35 vols. in 5. Leipzig: Rudolph Weigel, 1838–57.

ZERNER

Zerner, Henri. *The School of Fontainebleau: Etchings and Engravings*. New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1969.



1. *Allegory of Sickness*. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Michal and R. E. Lewis, 1984. 1984.1155

I *Allegory of Sickness*

After Giulio Romano
About 1540

Platemark: 300/304 × 216/220 mm.

State:

Only state. Ghisi's large monogram on the foot of the bed. A light ruled borderline all around, ca. 2 mm. inside the platemark.

Watermark: no. 4 (early impression).

References:

Gori Gandellini, p. 195; Bartsch 63; d'Arco, p. 5, no. 1; Massari 176

*I*n this print, a sick man lies prone on a bed, with a cover only on his legs. On the far side of the bed, a bearded man holds a cupping glass and a young woman



Fig. 20. *Allegory of Sickness*. Fresco after a design by Giulio Romano, Loggia of the Grotto, Palazzo del Te, Mantua. Photo: Frick Art Reference Library



Fig. 21. *Allegory of Sickness*. Etching by Antonio Fantuzzi. Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris

holds a candle; a boy is behind her. A woman at the head of the bed touches the man's head and back. A cloaked figure is seated on the base of the bed, chin in hand. The engraving reproduces, in reverse, the left half of one of a series of eleven frescoes in the Loggia of the Grotto of the Palazzo del Te in Mantua (fig. 20), which were designed by Giulio Romano (1499–1546) in or shortly after 1531.¹ Verheyen writes, “The paintings of the Loggia have been interpreted since the nineteenth century as an allegory of human life. It has not been possible to find a literary source to explain the selection of these scenes and some of their unusual iconographical features.”² (See also nos. 3, 26.)

Ghisi's print of this subject shows the same figures and general composition as the fresco but has a few additional details—for example, the plate and pair of sandals on the floor in the foreground and a pair of hanging vessels at top, left center.

A drawing of the image apparently traveled to Fontainebleau, as it is reproduced—also reversed, but compressed, and with changes in detail—in an etching by Antonio Fantuzzi (fig. 21). No drawing related to this scene has come to light, however, and thus it is impossible to determine whether the various differences in details were introduced by Agostino Mozzanega, who painted the fresco, Fantuzzi, or Ghisi.

Vasari,³ Gori Gandellini, and d'Arco attribute the print to Giovanni Battista Scultori, but it is typical of Ghisi's early work and signed with his large monogram.

Another version:

By Antonio Fantuzzi. Etching, in the same direction, 237 × 405 mm., but showing the entire composition of the fresco. Herbert II.82.63, Zerner AF 10.

Notes:

1. Egon Verheyen, *The Palazzo del Te in Mantua: Images of Love and Politics* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1977), p. 33.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 130.
3. Vasari, *Lives* (de Vere), p. 1,302; (Milanesi) v, p. 550.

2 *Tarquin and Lucretia*

After Giulio Romano
About 1540

Platemark: 225/228 × 327/332 mm.

State:

Only state. Ghisi's large monogram at bottom right. A light ruled borderline at left and an incompletely ruled borderline at top, ca. 2 mm. inside platemark.

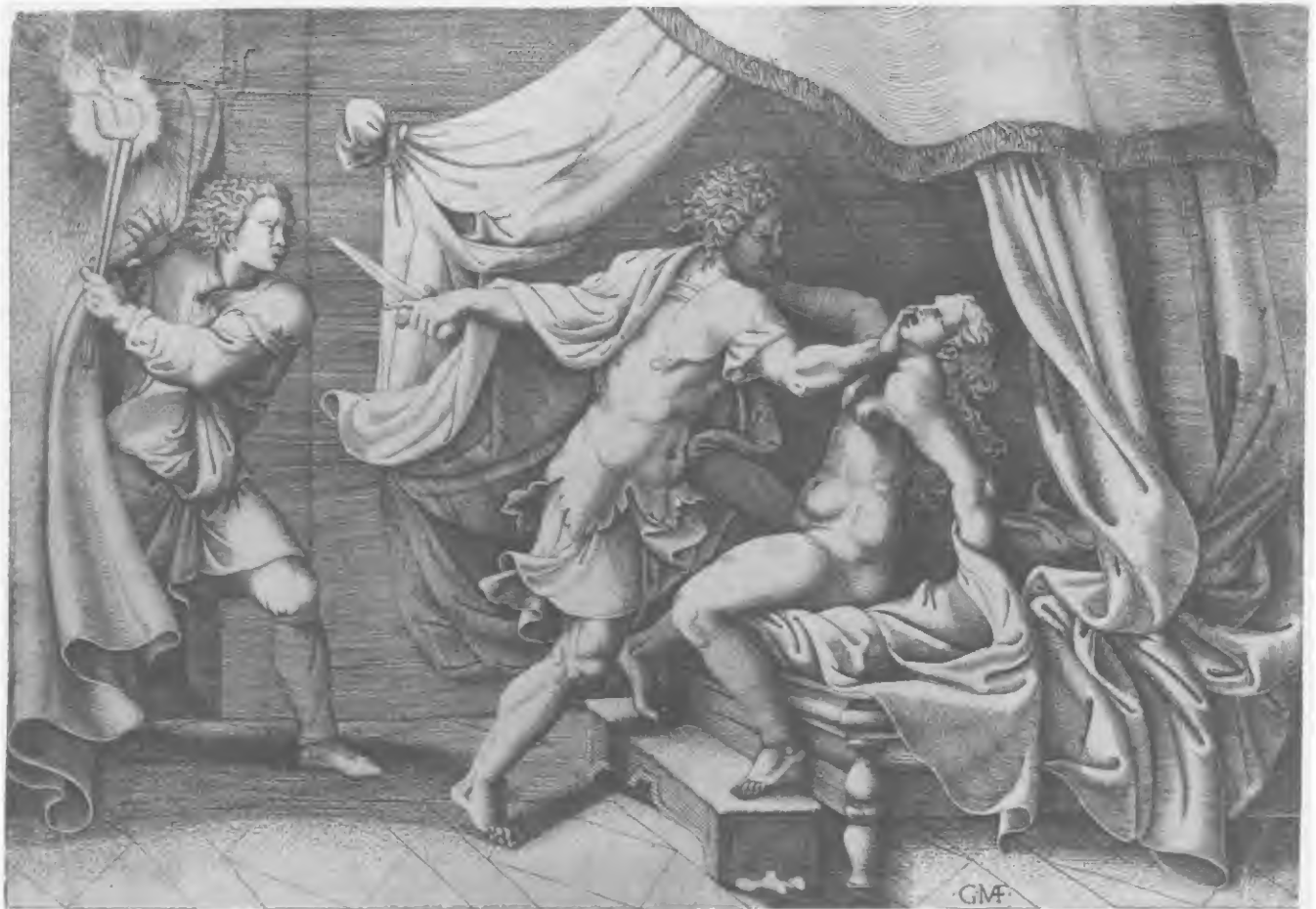
Watermarks: nos. 4 and 59 (early impressions) and nos. 1 and 2 (later impressions).

References:

Bartsch 27, Massari 174

The engraving shows Sextus Tarquinius, the son of Tarquinius Superbus, king of Rome, attacking Lucretia, the wife of a Roman nobleman. Tarquinius threatened to murder Lucretia if she would not submit to him and to kill a servant and put him in the bed alongside her; here he points to the servant with the hand holding a dagger. Lucretia did submit, but the next morning she called her father and husband to her, told them what had happened, and then killed herself, not wanting to live in dishonor. The avenging of her death led to the ousting of the monarchy and the establishment of the Roman republic.¹

The print reverses a composition by Giulio Romano



2. *Tarquin and Lucretia*. Private collection, USA



Fig. 22. *Tarquin and Lucretia*. Fresco after a design by Giulio Romano, ceiling of the Camerino dei Falconi, Palazzo Ducale, Mantua. Photo: Frick Art Reference Library

painted on the ceiling of the Camerino dei Falconi (sometimes called di Ganimede) in the Palazzo Ducale, Mantua, dated to the late 1530s (fig. 22).² The painting of Tarquin and Lucretia and another painting, showing an unidentified figure being thrown or throwing itself from a boat, flank a central image on the ceiling in which Ganymede is shown being borne away by Jupiter disguised as an eagle. The subject of Tarquin and Lucretia is also—as Hartt remarked of Ganymede—appropriate to a room dedicated to birds of prey.

No drawing of the subject is known.

Notes:

1. The story is told in Livy, bk. 1, chaps. 57–59, and in Ovid, *Fasti*, bk. II, ll. 722–852.

2. Frederick Hartt, *Giulio Romano*, 2 vols. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1958), I, pp. 166, 170.

3 *Silenus, a Satyr, and a Goat*

After Giulio Romano
About 1540

Platemark: 203/206 × 304/307 mm.

State:

Only state. Ghisi's large monogram at bottom center. An incompletely ruled light borderline almost on the platemark.

Watermark: no. 7 (good impression).

References:

Mariette, p. 376; Bartsch 55; Massari 175

*H*ere a satyr is seen fanning the sleeping Silenus with a branch, while across from them a goat, leaning its forelegs on the table, seems to chew a pyramid-shaped object. The print reproduces a scene from a tondo on the southern wall of the Loggia of the Grotto in the Palazzo del Te (fig. 23). Ghisi made two other prints after scenes in the Loggia of the Grotto (nos. 1, 26). In the eighteenth century, the French collector Pierre-Jean Mariette owned the drawing by Giulio Romano for this fresco (fig. 24): "A very beautiful drawing by Giulio Romano that I bought from Crozat."¹ The drawing is now in the Louvre.²



3. *Silenus, a Satyr, and a Goat*. Private collection, USA



Fig. 23. *Silenus, a Satyr, and a Goat*. Fresco after a design by Giulio Romano, Loggia of the Grotto, Palazzo del Te, Mantua.



Fig. 24. *Silenus, a Satyr, and a Goat*. Drawing by Giulio Romano. Louvre, Paris. Photo: Réunion des Musées Nationaux

As the dimensions of the figures in the drawing and the print are virtually identical, Ghisi may well have worked directly from the drawing. The background, as was to be the case in many of Ghisi's later prints, is probably of his own invention.

Notes:

1. Pierre Crozat had acquired many drawings from the seventeenth-century collector Everhard Jabach, who also at one time owned Giulio Romano's drawing of *The Mocking of the Prisoners* (see no. 4), a drawing of *The Death of Procris* (no. 5), and a drawing of *The Rest on the Flight into Egypt* (no. 59).
2. Inventory no. 3506.

4 *The Mocking of the Prisoners*

After Giulio Romano
About 1540

Platemark: 432/436 × 567/572 mm.

States:

- i: Unfinished and before any publisher's address. The right shoulder, arm, and knee of the seated woman at left have contour shading only. At bottom center: "IVLIVS ROMANVS INVENTOR/ GEORGIVS MANTVANVS FECIT". An incomplete light borderline at bottom. Some impressions printed unevenly on the left. In

the Soriga Collection in Pavia there is a very early impression on blue paper.

- ii: The figure of the seated woman at left now entirely shaded with parallel lines, except her hair. Added at bottom right: "Nic° Van aelst formis Romae. 1605".

Watermark: no. 57.

- iii: Added below van Aelst's address: "Si Stampano da Gio: Iacomo de Rossi in Roma alla Pace".



4. *The Mocking of the Prisoners*, state ii. Collection of Mary Ruiz, Los Angeles

The left side is heavily pitted, and most impressions are very light and worn.

The plate is in the Calcografia Nazionale, inventory no. 649.

References:

Bartsch 68, Massari 177

The print reproduces, in reverse and with a few variations, a drawing by Giulio Romano (fig. 25) for one of the tapestries commissioned by Francis I, depicting the life of the Roman general Scipio.¹ The tapestries, woven in Brussels, were ordered in 1532 and were completed in April 1535. They consist of two series, thirteen tapestries representing *The Deeds of Scipio* and ten *The Triumph of Scipio*. Giulio Romano made the so-called *petits patrons* (the drawings used as models for the full-

size cartoon from which the weavers would work) for the *Triumph* series. All ten of these still exist (nine in the Louvre and one at Chantilly). In addition to Ghisi's engraving, only one other print of a scene from the *Triumph* series was made, by Fantuzzi at Fontainebleau, dated 1543.²

Primaticcio took at least one *petit patron* to Brussels in 1540 and oversaw the work on the tapestries.³ Drawings apparently were given in small groups to different ateliers, for reasons of speed and also to preclude copying of the series as a whole. The whereabouts of any of the drawings, however, between the time they were taken to Brussels, where the full-size cartoons would have been made, and their appearance in the Jabach Collection in the seventeenth century is untraceable. Since two prints based on the *petits patrons* were made by Fantuzzi, who worked at Fontainebleau during the brief period when its school of etchers flourished there, it seems possible that at least the two *petits patrons* from which he worked, and perhaps others, were at Fontainebleau during the early 1540s.⁴



Fig. 25. *The Mocking of the Prisoners*. Drawing by Giulio Romano. Louvre, Paris. Photo: Réunion des Musées Nationaux

This was Giorgio's first large plate, and it is not very satisfactory in either draughtsmanship or technique. It seems unlikely, although not impossible, that Giorgio made it before 1534, when he was fourteen, the latest date at which the *petits patrons* would have been sent to Brussels. The print and the *petit patron* are, however, virtually the same size, and the print does reflect the quality of Giulio's hand. We suggest that the engraving could have been made not from the final *petit patron*, but from a drawing very similar to it that remained in Mantua when the *petits patrons* were sent to Brussels. Such drawings are known to have existed for other subjects in the series.⁵ It is also possible that the drawing was returned to Mantua after the tapestries were completed.

The literary source for the image depicted in this print is Appian's *Punic Wars* (bk. viii, chap. ix, 66):

White oxen came next, and after them elephants and the captive Carthaginian and Numidian chiefs . . . a chorus of harpists and pipers. . . . One of these, in the middle of the procession, wearing a purple cloak reaching to the feet and golden bracelets and necklace, caused laughter by making various gesticulations, as though he were dancing in triumph over the enemy.⁶

Notes:

1. The drawing is in the Louvre (inventory no. 3540), pen and brown ink with wash, 425 × 574 mm., formerly Jabach Collection. For the tapestries, see Bertrand Jestaz and Roseline Bacou, *Jules Romain, l'histoire de Scipion, tapisseries et dessins*, exhib. cat. (Paris: Grand Palais, 1978). Verheyen, *Palazzo del Te*, p. 126, incorrectly lists this print as reproducing a scene from the Sala degli Stucchi.

2. Zerner AF 57. Of the series of Deeds, five *petits patrons* exist (all in the Louvre). They are traditionally attributed to Gianfrancesco Penni, but the compositions probably originated with Giulio Romano. Four of these subjects were reproduced in print in the sixteenth century: *The Taking of Carthage*, by Georg Pencz, in 1539 (Bartsch viii.344.86, and David Landau, *Catalogo completo dell'opera grafico di Georg Pencz*, Milan: Salamon e Agostoni, 1978, no. 93); *The Clemency of Scipio*, by Fantuzzi, dated 1542 (Zerner AF 1); *The Storming of the Camp of the Carthaginians*, dated 1540 (Bartsch xv.31.4); and *The Conference of Scipio and Hannibal*, undated (Bartsch xv.31.5); the latter two are anonymous. All these prints are approximately the same size.

3. Jestaz and Bacou, *Scipion*, p. 13.

4. Ibid., p. 143. Jestaz mistakenly thought the engraving shows Scipio designated by a crown of laurel, and thus that it was done after the tapestry, but in the engraving, as in the drawing, Scipio's head is bare. The dimensions of engraving and drawing coincide, and it seems most probable, as Zerner wrote, that the *petit patron* was the direct model for the Fantuzzi print.

5. Ibid., p. 22.

6. Appian, *Roman History*, trans. Horace White. 4 vols. (London: William Heinemann, 1912–13), I, p. 507.

5 *The Death of Procris*

After Giulio Romano
About 1540

Platemark: 393/397 × 567/571 mm.

States:

- i: Unfinished and before any publisher's address.
At bottom center: "IVLIVS ROMANVS INVENTOR/
.G.MAF.". Procris's face almost entirely white. A
light borderline at bottom right only.

Watermark: no. 31.

- ii: Finished and before publisher's address. Procris's
left cheek entirely shaded. New work on other faces,
mostly to define the features.

Watermark: no. 31.

- iii: Added at bottom left, ca. 130 mm. from left edge:
"Romae Antonij Lafreri Formis".

Watermark: no. 53.



5. *The Death of Procris*, state i. Private collection, USA



Fig. 26. *The Death of Procris*. Drawing by Giulio Romano. Städelsches Kunstinstitut, Frankfurt

iv: Added, on blank mound beneath the satyr at left: "Petri de Nobilibus formis".

v: Lafreri's address erased or not inked, but still faintly visible.

vi: Nobilibus's address erased, but traces still visible. Added at lower left corner: "Ioan Antonij de Paulis for. Roma".

Watermark: no. 46.

vii: Paulis's address erased, but traces still visible, depending on the inking. Nobilibus's address replaced by "Philippus Thomassinus excudit Romae.". At top, in the center of sky: "PROCRIN ERITREI REGIS ATHENIENSIVM/ FILIA, ET CEPHALI VXOR, AB EODEM VIRO INCISIO/ Ovidii, 7^o Transformationvm . . . Occisa" (Procris, daughter of Eritreus, king of the Athenians, and wife of Cephalus, killed by the same man, unwittingly. Ovid. *Metamorphosis* 7^o). Extensively retouched. Crosshatching above stump at far left now continues to edge. Crosshatching added on belly of goat eating leaves at left background. Nearly all stump tops have spokelike lines. A group of small stones added in place of Lafreri's address. A new light borderline all around.

viii: Added in lower left corner, replacing Paulis's address: "Si Stampano da Gio: Iacomo de/ Rossi in Roma alla Pace".

ix: The borderline now very heavy and dark.

x: A fig leaf added to Cupid, and the satyr's penis shaded.

The plate is in the Calcografia Nazionale, inventory no. 634.

The censorship was done in 1823 at the order of Pope Leo XII, according to Massari.

References:

Bartsch 61, Heller-Andresen 19, Massari 178

The story of Cephalus and Procris is told in Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (vii, ll. 690–862). While out hunting, Cephalus addressed the breeze that cooled him as "Aura." Someone heard him and reported to his wife, Procris, that Cephalus was unfaithful to her. She refused to believe the charge without evidence and decided to spy on Cephalus while he was hunting. Hearing a rustling in the bushes, Cephalus threw his javelin, only to learn too late that he had killed his beloved wife.

The engraving reproduces, in reverse, an exquisite drawing of the death of Procris by Giulio Romano. The drawing, to the same scale as the print, is now in Frankfurt (fig. 26);¹ another drawing of the subject, catalogued as after Giulio, is in the Louvre.²

Hartt speculates that this scene and three others, *The Hunt of the Calydonian Boar*, *Hylas and the Nymphs*, and *The Death of Adonis*, were drawn about 1530 and intended for decoration, perhaps as a series of panels, for the



Fig. 27. *The Death of Procris*. Etching, by Master IQV?
The British Museum, London. Photo: Warburg
Institute, London



Fig. 28. *The Hunt of the Calydonian Boar*. Etching by Master
IQV. Graphische Sammlung Albertina, Vienna.
Photo: Warburg Institute, London

Gonzaga hunting lodge at Marmirolo.³ Hartt, followed by Massari, cites for the *Hunt of the Calydonian Boar* a pen sketch⁴ and a copy of the modello,⁵ and for *Hylas and the Nymphs* two copies of the modello.⁶ Pouncey and Gere mention a drawing of *The Death of Adonis* formerly in the Ellesmere Collection.⁷ None of these writers, nor Martineau,⁸ seems to have been aware that, in addition to the Ghisi *Procris*, all four compositions were rendered as prints in the sixteenth century, the *Hunt of the Calydonian Boar* signed by Master IQV and dated 1543, the other three perhaps by the same hand although with no signature or date (figs. 27–30).⁹ It seems very possible that the four were issued as a set, and this suggestion would, of course, corroborate Hartt's thesis. If they were a set, to sign and date only one would be fairly usual practice. If the other four prints were all done about 1543, we think that Ghisi's print predated them by a few years.

Another version:

Anonymous. Etching, in the same direction, 358 × 562 mm., trimmed close. Without letters. In our opinion, by Master IQV. Bartsch xvi.406.78, Herbert v.220.55.

Notes:

1. Städelsches Institut (inventory no. 4336), pen and bistre wash, on tinted paper, heightened with white, 325 × 560 mm.
2. Inventory no. 3663, formerly Jabach Collection.
3. Hartt, *Giulio Romano*, p. 225.
4. British Museum, inventory no. 85.
5. Louvre, inventory no. 3666.
6. Louvre, inventory no. 3465, and London, private collection.
7. Philip Pouncey and J. A. Gere, *Italian Drawings in the Department of Prints and Drawings in the British Museum: Raphael and His Circle* (London: The British Museum, 1962), no. 85.
8. Chambers and Martineau, *Splendours*, no. 186.
9. Bartsch xvi.372.4, 405.76, 406.77–78. Herbert iv.202.14; v.218.43 and 220.54–55.



Fig. 29. *Hylas and the Nymphs*. Etching, by Master IQV? The
British Museum, London. Photo: Warburg Institute,
London



Fig. 30. *The Death of Adonis*. Etching, by Master IQV? The
British Museum, London. Photo: Warburg Institute,
London

6 *Danaë and the Infant Perseus Cast Out to Sea by Acrisius*

After Giulio Romano (?)

1543

Platemark: 134/135 × 197/198 mm.

State:

Only state. Giorgio's monogram, smaller than in the previous prints, and the date in a small white area in the lower left corner. A light ruled borderline just inside the platemark all around.

References:

Mariette, p. 370; Bartsch 65; Massari 173

*I*t was Mariette who first suggested that the subject of this engraving might be either the parents of Moses preparing to abandon their son on the Nile or Acrisius casting his daughter Danaë and her son Perseus out to sea. Bartsch repeats the two suggestions. Modern scholars have accepted, with reservations, the identification of the subject as Acrisius, Danaë, and Perseus.

It had been prophesied that Danaë would bear a son who would kill his grandfather, so Acrisius had Danaë locked up in a tower. But Zeus came to her disguised in a shower of gold, and Perseus was conceived. When



6. *Danaë and the Infant Perseus Cast Out to Sea by Acrisius*. The British Museum, London



Fig. 31. *Danaë and the Infant Perseus Cast Out to Sea by Acrisius*. Etching, by Battista del Moro? The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1917. 17.3.3359

Perseus was born, Acrisius cast the infant and his mother out to sea.¹ In most versions of the story, Danaë and Perseus are cast away in a chest, not a boat, which is one reason why this identification is not wholly satisfactory. No better suggestion has been presented, however, and the other version of the composition (fig. 31), although its background is different, has no compelling evidence to suggest another identification, so we use this title until a more persuasive one may be found.

No drawing or painting of the subject is known; the attribution to Giulio also goes back to Mariette and is made on the basis of style.

This is Giorgio's first dated engraving. Massari presumed it was his first print, but evidence of various kinds suggests that it was made later. The style here is already tighter and denser than that in his early prints, and his monogram is small, typical of that on his later work. It seems unlikely Giorgio would have begun with this monogram, changed for a while to a larger one, and then reverted to the small size. Finally, in 1543 Giorgio was twenty-three, a very late age for a sixteenth-century engraver to make his first print.

Another version:

Anonymous. Etching, 180 × 243 mm. Passavant vi.139.65, attributed to Battista del Moro; Meyer II.41.15, attributed to Marco Angeli del Moro; Herbet v.223.87.

Note:

1. H. J. Rosc, *A Handbook of Greek Mythology, Including Its Extension to Rome* (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1959), p. 272.

7 *Sinon Deceiving the Trojans*

After Giovanni Battista Scultori
Mid-1540s

Platemark: 366/367 × 478/479 mm.

States:

- i: Before any publisher's address. On the side of the bank at lower left, to the left of the reeds: "GEOR./ MANT./ .F.". In the bottom blank margin, which measures 5 mm. in height: ".I. BA. MANTVANVS. IN.". A light borderline at right side only. A vertical crack

in the top of the plate, 110 mm. from left edge.

Watermark: no. 5.

- ii: Added at image bottom toward the right, under a shell and three stones: "Romae Antonij Lafreri Formis".

Watermarks: nos. 31 and 38.



7. *Sinon Deceiving the Trojans*, state i. Istituto Nazionale per la Grafica, Rome

iii: Added below Lafreri's address in the bottom blank margin: "*Ioannes Orlandi Forma roma 1602*" in large italics.

We have never seen an impression in this state, but assume its existence because of the following states.

iv: Orlandi's address partially and rather crudely erased, leaving vertical scratches. A horizontal scratch through the helmets of the two soldiers at farthest right.

v: Orlandi's address almost completely erased, with some traces still visible.

References:

Bartsch 28, Massari 180

Giorgio made two engravings reproducing compositions of the Trojan War by Giovanni Battista Scultori (1503–1575). Scultori, a native of Mantua and a pupil of Giulio Romano, was the artist whom Vasari, in his 1568 edition, reported as the father of two sons and a daughter, all of whom were engravers, thus beginning the confusion concerning the relationship of Giorgio Ghisi and the Scultori family (see Introduction).¹

This print shows the Greek Sinon standing knee deep in a marsh, center left, as the Trojans pull the wooden horse, in whose hollow belly were hidden the strongest of the Greek warriors, into their city. Sinon is not mentioned by Homer but does appear in later epics, notably in the *Aeneid*, which would have been especially well known in Mantua, Virgil's birthplace.

As Virgil relates the episode, Sinon told the Trojans that the Greeks had decided to leave and had chosen him to be sacrificed in order to gain a safe return, but that he had escaped and had hidden at night among reeds in a marsh.

... The prisoner
With all a Greek's adept duplicitousness
Raised his unfettered palms to heaven and cried
"You eternal Fires of heaven, Godhead inviolable,
Now bear me witness, and you altars and knives
Set for unspeakable deeds from which I escaped;
You holy ribands donned for the sacrifice
I am empowered, by right, to break the bonds
Which were sacred as between me and the Greeks. . . ."²

He told the Trojans the horse was made as an offering to Athena, whose temple some of the Greeks had defiled. The horse was purposely made too large to fit through the gates of Troy, Sinon continued, because the Greeks believed that if the Trojans did bring it in, they would then be victorious over the Greeks.

The Trojans were duped. They broke part of the city's

wall to allow the horse to pass through. Once inside the city, the Greeks sprang from the horse and conquered Troy. (See also no. 8.)

Notes:

1. Vasari, *Lives* (de Vere), p. 1, 642; (Milanesi) vi, p. 490. See Albricci, "Le incisioni di G. Battista Scultori," pp. 10–63.

2. Virgil, *The Aeneid*, trans. Patric Dickinson (New York: The New American Library, 1961), pp. 32f. (bk. II, ll. 152–57). See also Rose, *Greek Mythology*, p. 243.

8 *The Fall of Troy and the Escape of Aeneas*

After Giovanni Battista Scultori
Mid-1540s

Platemark: 385/390 × 494/498 mm.

States:

i: Before any publisher's address. At bottom right corner: "GIORGIVS MANTVANVS/ .F.". At bottom center: ".I. BA. MANTVANVS. IN.".

Watermarks: nos. 1 and 31.

ii: Added at bottom toward left: "Romae Antonij Lafreri formis".

Watermark: no. 6.

iii: Added directly above Lafreri's address: "Ioannes Orlandi formis romae 1602".

iv: The first word of Orlandi's address erased.



8. *The Fall of Troy and the Escape of Aeneas*, state i. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Elisha Whittelsey Collection, The Elisha Whittelsey Fund, 1959. 59.570.302

v: Orlandi's whole address rather crudely erased.

Impressions are very light and worn.

References:

Bartsch 29, Massari 179

This and the preceding print reproduce compositions by Scultori depicting events from the Trojan War. Here Greek soldiers are seen moving from the left to enter Troy, which is already in flames. At the right Aeneas, his father, Anchises, and his son Ascanius flee over the city walls. Wreathed by a cloud, Aeneas's mother, Venus, watches over their escape.

In his chapter on Marcantonio and other engravers, which was added in the second edition of his *Lives*, of 1568, Vasari writes, "Very fanciful, also, are two large sheets by the hand of the same master [Scultori], one of which is The Burning of Troy, executed with extraordinary invention, design and grace."¹ The other print Vasari refers to could have been *Sinon Deceiving the Trojans* (no. 7), or another engraving by Scultori himself, called *A Naval Battle Between Greeks and Trojans*,² which is perhaps related to the two subjects engraved by Ghisi. The two prints by Ghisi differ in size by three to four centimeters in each dimension, and the Scultori print is larger again by about the same amount, so it seems unlikely the prints were made as a set. Further, Scultori's print is dated 1538, and because Ghisi's burin strokes are tighter and more systematic than those in his early prints, we date this and the preceding one after 1543.

Notes:

1. Vasari, *Lives* (de Vere), p. 1,257; (Milanesi) v, p. 427.

2. Bartsch xv.383.20; Albricci, "Le incisioni di G. Battista Scultori," no. 20.

9 The Last Judgment

After Michelangelo

Mid-1540s

Platemark: Overall, ca. 1,200 × 1,074 mm., on ten irregularly shaped plates, which join as a jigsaw puzzle.

States:

PLATES A, B, E, and G:

i: Before the capital letters that later identify each plate.

ii: With capital letters in lower right or left corner of each plate.

Watermarks: nos. 57, 34 (later), and 70 (late, worn impressions).

PLATES C, D, F, AND H:

i: Before the capital letters that later identify each plate.

ii: With capital letters in lower right or left corner of each plate.

Watermarks: nos. 57, 34 (later), and 70 (late, worn impressions).

iii: Drapery or shadows added to private parts of nude figures.

PLATE I:

i: Before the capital letter, and before the Michelangelo inscription.

Joined with state i of other plates.

We have never seen an impression in this state, but infer its existence (see text, below).

ii: Before the capital letter. Added below the boat: “MICHEL ANGELVS BONAROTA TVSCORVM FLOS DELIBATVS./ DVARVM ARTIŪ PVLCHERRIMARVM./ HVMANAE VITAE VICARIARVM./ PICTVRAE STATVARIAE QVE/ SVO PENITVS SAECVLO EXTINGTARVM./ ALTER INVĒTOR FACIEBAT” (Michelangelo Buonarroti, the picked flower of the Tuscans in the two most beautiful imitative arts of human life, painting and sculpture, which perished altogether with his age. Another artist made it).

Joined with Facchettus’s state (ii) of Plate L, and state i of other plates. Gabinetto delle Stampe, Rome.

iii: The letter “I” added, bottom right.

Joined with van Aelst state (iii) of Plate L, and state ii of other plates. Bibliothèque Royale, Brussels.

iv: The Michelangelo inscription erased and replaced by a crowned coat of arms with palm fronds joining underneath, on each side of which appears the dedication: “ALL ILL^{MO} SIG. ET PRON. COE^{MO}/ IL SIG. MATHIA DI MERVE/ SIGNORE DI CLOOTVYCK/ A.VS. Ill^{ma} che á giudicio di tutti gli huomini, e il/ Mecenate de Virtuosi dedico il Giudicio Vñle di Michel’/ Angelo Buonaroti, accioche il concetto, c’ha’il Mondo del/ le Sue Magnanime qualita, uenga autenticato anche dal/ guidicio de gli Angeli, e s’io conosceró gradita dall’ animo suo/ Generoso questa minima espressione della Somma osseru^a che pro/ fesso, al di lei Nome non mancarò, Farne mag^{ri} epiu uiue dimonstrazⁿⁱ/ A.v.s.Ill^{ma} che int^o umilm^{te} riuero^o DVS Ill^{ma}/ diuotiss^{mo} seru^{te} Giacomo Cenci”’ (To the most illustrious and most honorable Matthys van de Merwede, Lord of Clootwyck. To your most illustrious Lordship, who in the judgment of all men is the Maecenas of artists, I dedicate the Last Judgment of Michelangelo Buonarotti, in order that the idea the world has of the quality of your magnanimity may also be authenticated by the judgment of the angels, and if this small expression of the high regard that I profess receives your approval, I will not fail to make even greater and more ardent demonstrations in your honor. Most humbly and reverently dedicated to your Lordship by your most devoted servant, Giacomo Cenci). To right of this, under the kneeling demon: “Vincenzo Cenci le Stampa in Roma all’Insegna delli tre Gigli d’Oro alla dogana 1650”.

Joined with state iv of Plate L, and state ii of other plates. Berlin.

Watermark: no. 57.

v: Giacomo Cenci’s name and Vincenzo Cenci’s address erased.

Joined with de Rubeis state (v) of Plate L, and state ii of other plates.



9. *The Last Judgment*, state ii (plates I and L), state i (others). Istituto Nazionale per la Grafica, Rome

Watermarks: nos. 34 and 70 (late, worn impressions).

- vi: Drapery or shadows added to private parts of nude figures.

Joined with last states of all other plates. Sometimes on machine-made paper.

PLATE L:

- i: Before the capital letter, and before any publisher's address.

Joined with state i of other plates.

We have not seen an impression in this state, so cannot say whether Ghisi's signature appears.

- ii: Before the capital letter. At lower left: "GEORGIVS MANTVANVS FECIT. Pietro Fachetto formis Romae".

Joined with state ii of Plate I, and state i of other plates. Gabinetto delle Stampe, Rome.

- iii: The letter "L" added in lower right corner. Facchet-tus's address erased and replaced by "Nicolo van Aelst formis Romae".

Joined with state iii of Plate I, and state ii of other plates. Bibliothèque Royale, Brussels.

- iv: Van Aelst's address erased.

Joined with Cenci state (iv) of Plate I, and state ii of other plates. Berlin.

Watermark: no. 57.

- v: Added after Giorgio's signature: "Io. Iacob. de Rubeis Formis Romae ad templ. S^a M^a de Pace cum priuil. S. P."

Joined with state v of Plate I, and state ii of other plates.

Watermarks: nos. 34 and 70 (late, worn impressions).

- vi: Drapery or shadows added to private parts of nude figures.

Joined with last states of all other plates. Sometimes on machine-made paper.

Copy:

By Nicolas Beatrizet. Engraving on ten plates, joined. Same direction and roughly the same shapes and sizes as the Ghisi work, but without the capital letters on each plate. On top central plate beneath St. Peter: "MICHAEL-ANGELVS/INVENTOR.". Beneath the right foot of St. Bartholomew: "Nicolaus Beatrizius lotaringus/Incidit: et formis". On left bottom plate beneath the cave entrance at right: "ANT. LAFRERII FORMIS.". On right bot-

tom plate, a large dedication by the engraver to the viewer, dated 1562. The most obvious difference between this and the Ghisi work is the copy's very exaggerated musculature. Bartsch xv.257.37.

Robert-Dumesnil, ignoring the dates on the prints, calls the della Casa version a copy of this print. (See *Other versions*, no. 1).

References:

Bartsch 25, Heller-Andresen 10, Massari 183

Ghisi's major work during the 1540s was his engraving of *The Last Judgment* after Michelangelo (1475–1564). Ghisi's was not the first print after the famous fresco, painted between 1535 and 1541; a large engraving, like Ghisi's in ten sections, was made in 1543 by Niccolò della Casa and published by Antonio Salamanca (fig. 33). Many other engraved versions were made before the end of the sixteenth century, but Ghisi's easily surpasses all of them. Only his print and the della Casa version (and the one by Beatrizet; see *Copy*, above) are on a large scale. Compared to Ghisi's, however, della Casa's figures are crude and awkward. Ghisi's print also is closer to Michelangelo's fresco in the relative scale of the figures than is della Casa's; in the latter, the figures of the lower section are too large in relation to the rest. Many of the



Fig. 32. *The Last Judgment*. Fresco by Michelangelo, Sistine Chapel, Vatican, Rome. Photo: Art Resource, New York

other versions also considerably distort or make outright changes in Michelangelo's composition.²

Vasari mentions Ghisi's engraving in the 1568 (second) edition of his *Lives*, paying it a grudging compliment: "And although many plates have been badly executed through the avarice of the printers, eager more for gain than for honor, yet in certain others . . . there may be seen something of the good; as in the large design of the Last Judgment of Michelagnolo Buonarroti on the front wall of the Papal Chapel, engraved by Giorgio Mantovano. . . ."³ Vasari makes no mention of any other print of *The Last Judgment*.

Ghisi's print was obviously based on a drawing of the finished fresco, as there are no significant differences between fresco and engraving except for the changes made after the Council of Trent's decision in January 1564 to cover the parts of the painting deemed obscene. The draperies were added, and the position of the head of St. Blaise—the figure directly above St. Catherine in the group of Blessed at the right—was changed to make him look toward Christ. In the original fresco, as in Ghisi's engraving, the figure looked down toward St. Catherine.⁴

It is probable that the drawing from which Ghisi worked was made, very soon after the unveiling of the fresco, by Marcello Venusti (1512/15–1579), an artist born in Como and educated in Mantua, who was in Rome in 1541.⁵ Venusti is probably best known for his painted copy of *The Last Judgment*, made in 1549 for Cardinal Farnese and now in the Museo di Capodimonte, Naples. Cardinal Ercole Gonzaga, who from 1540 to 1556 was regent of Mantua (see no. 24), almost immediately wanted a replica of Michelangelo's fresco, which had caused a furor when it was unveiled. In a letter from Rome dated December 4, 1541, Nino Servini, one of Ercole's Roman agents, recommended Venusti to Cardinal Ercole as the best among the many copyists of the fresco, saying that Venusti had begun to make a drawing but was proceeding extremely slowly.⁶ Two drawings of *The Last Judgment* said to be by Venusti were listed among the collection of the Gonzagas in 1627, when an inventory was made prior to selling most of the collection to Charles I of England; at least one of them is surely the image procured for Cardinal Ercole.⁷ It is more than likely that Giorgio followed one of these drawings, but since their whereabouts are now unknown, no comparison is possible.⁸

Several writers date *The Last Judgment* to 1556.⁹ It is clear from the style, however, that this is a much earlier work—see the detail reproduced in the Introduction (fig. 11), in which the lines creating the illusion of planes in the woman's body are still tentative and somewhat haphazard. It is less accomplished than *The Visitation* after Salviati (no. 10), which in turn is less developed than the works Ghisi did for Hieronymus Cock in Antwerp beginning in 1550. Since a drawing of the fresco by Venusti for Cardinal Ercole presumably reached Mantua by 1543 or 1544 (allowing for Venusti's slow pace), Ghisi could have made the engraving as early as the mid-1540s.



Fig. 33. *The Last Judgment*. Engraving by Niccolo della Casa. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1962. 62.602.652 (1–3)

Thus, we believe there must have been a state before the Facchettus edition, although we have not seen it (see *States*, Plate I, above). The inscription on the Facchettus edition is clearly a memorial to Michelangelo, who did not die until 1564, after Giorgio had done much of his finest work. In addition, Facchettus was not publishing prints until the 1570s (see Publishers), so it seems that Facchettus acquired the plate after Michelangelo's death and copied the inscription from Giorgio's memorial portrait of Michelangelo. All the other plates published by Facchettus had earlier editions with no publisher's name, usually larger editions than those of Facchettus, to judge by the relative rarity of the latter today.

As Bartsch remarks, the set is rarely found complete in equal impressions, leading to the utmost confusion for cataloguers. Bartsch did not attempt to describe states. The impression he described had the Michelangelo inscription on Plate I, but did not have Facchettus's address following Giorgio's name on Plate L. We assume that he had seen a mixed set, with a first or fourth state of Plate L and a second or third state of Plate I.

See also the *Portrait of Michelangelo* (no. 39).

Other versions:¹⁰

1. By Niccolo della Casa. Engraving, on ten plates, joined, ca. 1,545 × 1,320 mm. Inscriptions on several of the plates, with Antonio Salamanca's address, are variously dated 1543, 1545, and 1548. Individual

plates are simpler in outline than Ghisi's and do not have capital letters. Robert-Dumesnil ix.181.1.

2. By Giulio Bonasone. Engraving, 580 × 446 mm. Dedicated to Cardinal Alessandro Farnese, with papal privilege and address of Antonio Salamanca. Bartsch xv.132.80.
3. By Michele Lucchese. Engraving, 548 × 430 mm. Dedicated to Cardinal Guido Ascanio Sforza of Santa Fiore (d. 1564). Published by I. B. de Cavalieri. Nagler, *Monogrammisten*, iv.1977.6.
4. By Giovanni Battista de Cavalieri. Engraving, dated 1567. Passerini, p. 177;¹¹ Steinmann II, p. 790, no. 6.¹²
5. Anonymous. Engraving, 205 × 170 mm. Inscribed "Ascanio Don: guido faciebat 1567."¹³ Steinmann II, p. 791, no. 7.
6. By Martino Rota. Engraving, 312 × 230 mm. Dated 1569. Bartsch xvi.260.28.
7. By Mario Cartaro. Engraving, 553 × 423 mm. Dated 1569. Bartsch xv.527.18.
8. By Pierre Woeriot. Engraving, round, 285 mm. in diameter. Passavant vi.270.406, Robert-Dumesnil xi.348.3.
9. Anonymous. Engraving, with Nelli's address. Dated 1576. Heineken, p. 398, no. 39f.
10. Anonymous. Engraving, 393 × 268 mm. Published by Lafreri. Heineken, p. 398, no. 39e.
11. By Etienne Dupérac. Etching, 585 × 447 mm. Dated 1578. Robert-Dumesnil viii.114.82.
12. By Jan Wierix. Engraving, 312 × 231 mm. Copy after Rota. Eight states; second state published by Aper van der Hoeve of Delft.¹⁴ Mauquoy-Hendrickx 393.
13. By Ambrogio Brambilla. Engraving, 585 × 312 mm. Dated 1589. Dedicated to Pope Sixtus V. There are reference numbers engraved over each group of figures. Nagler, *Monogrammisten*, i.946.3.
14. By Leonard Gaultier. Engraving, 313 × 232 mm. Copy after Rota, except that portrait of Michelangelo at top center faces to right instead of left. Later impressions have address of P. Mariette. LeBlanc II.273.18; Heineken, p. 401, no. 39s.
15. Anonymous. Engraving, 536 × 405 mm. With Duchetti's address. Dated 1593, Rome.¹⁵ Heineken, p. 398, no. 39c.
16. By Francesco Villamena. Engraving, 218 × 166 mm. According to de Maio,¹⁶ Villamena engraved two different versions in 1594 and 1603. Nagler xx.264.48.
17. By Sebastian Furck (Fulcaro). Engraving, 210 × 160 mm. LeBlanc II.285.2. Included in bound Rossi editions of Ghisi's *Last Judgment*.

Notes:

1. Matthys van de Merwede, Lord of Cloodtwyck (ca. 1625-1677), a Dutch nobleman, visited Italy in 1647-50, and was an active patron of such artists as G. B. Castiglione, whose publisher was Giovanni Giacomo Rossi (see Publishers). Rossi dedicated one of Castiglione's most important etchings, *The Genius of Castiglione* (Bartsch XXI.22.23), to him. Merwede wrote a book about his trip to Italy, published in The Hague in 1651.
2. Leo Steinberg, in a fascinating article, pointed out many of these distortions, suggesting that for complex and even contradictory reasons there was a pattern of "persistent negation of positive elements in the fresco." See Leo Steinberg, "Michelangelo's 'Last Judgment' as Merciful Heresy," *Art in America*, 63 (November-December 1975), p. 61.
3. Vasari, *Lives* (de Vere), p. 1,259; (Milanesi) v, p. 430.
4. See Roberto Salvini et al., *The Sistine Chapel*, 2 vols. (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1965), I, pp. 248-50.
5. See Bernice Davidson, "Drawings by Marcello Venusti," *Master Drawings*, 11 (1973), pp. 3-19.
6. "I have not failed to seek in every way to procure the design of the work that Michelangelo made in the [Sistine] chapel. . . . There are many who draw it continually, among whom the one who is reputed the best, a Mantuan, named Marcello. . . . he is reputed to be accurate and does very well for a young man. . . . He has worked continually for a month without wasting time and has hardly filled out Charon's boat. . . ." Letter transcribed in Ludwig Pastor, *The History of the Popes from the Close of the Middle Ages*, vols. XII-XVI. (3rd ed. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1950-51) XII, p. 660.
7. Luzio, *Galleria dei Gonzaga*, p. 116, no. 333: "Un quadro con il disegno del giudizio di Michelangelo di mano del Marcello con cornici L. 300"; and, p. 132, no. 638: "un disegno grande del giudizio di Michelangelo, di mano del Marcello L. 150." Two references to drawings of the *Last Judgment* appear again, on a list from Daniel Nys probably annexed to a letter of December 4, 1627; see *ibid.*, pp. 149, 152. D'Arco also transcribes the inventory and lists these drawings: *Arti e artefici*, II, pp. 161, 166.
8. The drawings were obviously extraordinary, for very few of the hundreds of paintings on the 1627 inventory were evaluated so high. A painting by Raphael was evaluated at L. 1,200, one by Correggio at L. 600, a Veronese at L. 480, and a Titian at L. 300 (Luzio, *Galleria dei Gonzaga*, p. 90, no. 8; p. 92, nos. 9-11). Most of the paintings were evaluated at well under L. 100. That these drawings seem to have completely disappeared is all the more mysterious.
9. Pittaluga, *L'incisione italiana nel cinquecento*, p. 190; Mario Rotili et al., *Fortuna di Michelangelo nell'incisione*, exhib. cat. (Benevento: Museo del Sannio, 1964), p. 76; Salvini et al., *The Sistine Chapel*, p. 246; and Romeo de Maio, *Michelangelo e la controriforma* (Rome: Laterza, 1978), p. 72.
10. The list of *Other versions* was compiled by Rose-Helen Breinin.
11. Luigi Passerini, *Bibliografia di Michelangelo Buonarroti e gli incisori delle sue opere* (Florence: Cellini, 1875).
12. Ernst Steinmann, *Die Sixtinische Kapelle*, 2 vols. (Munich: F. Bruckmann, 1901-1905).
13. There is no record of an artist named Ascanio Don, and we have not been able to identify the engraver of this work.
14. On the basis of this publisher's address, Mauquoy-Hendrickx dates the print 1578-79, to coincide with Wierix's visit to Delft. The first state, a proof, lists no publisher, while subsequent states carry the addresses of various other publishers (Marie Mauquoy-Hendrickx, "A propos de la 'Lucrece' et du 'Jugement dernier' de Jean Wierix," *Le livre et l'estampe*, 19 [1973], pp. 56-59). Wierix's engravings are catalogued in Mauquoy-Hendrickx, *Estampes des Wierix*.
15. Since Duchetti died in 1585, there was presumably an earlier edition.
16. De Maio, *Michelangelo*, p. 78.

10 *The Visitation*

After Francesco Salviati

1540s

Platemark: 318/321 × 502/510 mm.

States:

i: Unfinished and before any publisher's address. Wall surfaces behind the woman with the bundle on her head, left, all more or less white, with a few shaded portions. The side of the face, neck, arm, and robe of the woman with folded arms, left, are white. The figure behind the Virgin has contour shading only. On the facade at upper right, facing in: "FRAN:/SALVIATI/.IN:". At bottom right corner on a small tablet: "GEOR/GIVS/MANTVA/NVS/.FA.". A light

borderline on left side and incomplete borderlines at top and bottom, ca. 3 mm. within platemark.

This state is rare.

ii: Finished and before publisher's address. The figure of the woman with folded arms, left, now shaded with parallel lines on her face, arm, neck, and robe. The figure behind the Virgin now shaded with parallel lines. Wall surfaces behind the woman with the bundle on her head now shaded with parallel lines. Additional shading on the face of the seated woman with child and pitcher: vertical lines added down



10. *The Visitation*, state ii. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Elisha Whittelsey Collection, The Elisha Whittelsey Fund, 1949. 49.95.2319

from her right eyebrow to shade the inner part of the eye socket, and horizontal lines between the cheek and nose on the right.

Watermarks: nos. 5 and 23.

iii: Added beneath bottom step, 238 mm. from left plate edge and 236 mm. from right plate edge: "ANT. LAFRERI". Several new scratches, especially one large jagged one at bottom edge beneath the woman with child and pitcher, extending vertically 30 mm. into the plate toward the pitcher.

iv: Lafreri's name erased, but sometimes still faintly visible.

Watermark: no. 38.

v: Added, over the first portion of Lafreri's erased name and under the step, between two ruled lines extending beyond the inscription: "In Roma per Gio Battista de Rossi in Piazza Navona".

vi: Rossi's address removed, and "In Roma presso Carlo Losi l'anno 1773" added in its place, 12 mm. to right of the pointing man.

References:

Bartsch 1, Passavant 1, Heller-Andresen 1, Massari 198

This engraving reproduces, with some variations, the fresco by Francesco Salviati (1510–1563) painted in 1538 in the Oratorio of San Giovanni Decollato in Rome, one of the eight scenes of the life of St. John the Baptist painted by several artists (fig. 34). Vasari praised this fresco lavishly, concluding, "wherefore it is no marvel if all Rome was struck with astonishment by it."¹ The only preparatory drawing for the fresco known to date is a preliminary sketch in the British Museum that groups the figures, but shows little detail (fig. 35).²

The other two early prints of this composition, both of which were made later than Ghisi's (see below, figs. 36, 37), are more or less faithful renditions of the fresco; Ghisi's engraving, however, varies from it significantly. The configuration of the steps, the position of the head of the woman seated in the right foreground, and some of the architectural elements—notably the one at the right, which is a closed building in the fresco while in the engraving it is an open exedra with a garden in the background—and the physiognomies of the two sixteenth-century spectators are all different. The engraving also has landscape added in the background, while the pointing male nude in the fresco, in the distance just right of center, is omitted.

Previous writers have seemed to assume that these changes were whimsical inventions on Ghisi's part,³ but, as stated in the Introduction, such caprice is unlikely. Perhaps the addition of some of the landscape in the far background is attributable to Ghisi, but the other changes seem too cavalier for him to have made. It seems more likely that Giorgio was working from a drawing of the composition that preceded the final version. Assuming this to be the case, some of the discrepancies between the engraving and the fresco could be explained. For instance, to the right of the entire painted composition is a real window. Cheney states, "It seems probable that the overall scheme of decoration for the Oratorio, the painted architecture into which the scenes are set, was not decided on until the Salviati *Visitation* was begun."⁴ Thus, before the decorative architecture was planned, Salviati could have envisaged a painted exedra with a fictive garden behind it that would create the illusion of another view of the real landscape out the window.



Fig. 34. *The Visitation*. Fresco by Francesco Salviati, Oratorio of San Giovanni Decollato, Rome. Photo: Gabinetto Fotografico Nazionale



Fig. 35. *The Visitation*. Drawing by Francesco Salviati. The British Museum, London



Fig. 36. *The Visitation*. Etching by Bartolomeo Passaroti. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Joseph Pulitzer Bequest, 1917. 17.50.19—143



Fig. 37. *The Visitation*. Engraving by Jacob Matham. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Elisha Whittelsey Collection, The Elisha Whittelsey Fund, 1956. 56.597.43

The preparatory drawing in the British Museum shows the Virgin Mary greeting St. Elizabeth on the steps at the left, leaving the figures at the right at a lower level and the sixteenth-century spectators at a third, even lower, level. In its final form, however, the fresco has the sixteenth-century figures at a lower level but shows the other biblical figures on the same level as the Virgin and St. Elizabeth. If our hypothesis is correct, the engraving would have been made from an intermediate drawing in which the three levels had been reduced to two. Also, if our hypothesis is correct, the gesticulating, nearly nude young male absent in the engraving would have been a last-minute addition, quite possibly a prefiguration of St. John the Baptist preaching. Salviati also may not have known until the last minute which of the brothers of the Confraternity of the Misericordia were to be painted in, and thus the physiognomies in the fresco are not the same as those in the print.

This print most probably was made during the 1540s, as the work as a whole seems less assured than *The School of Athens* (no. 11), dated 1550. Ghisi made a trip to Rome in the 1540s (see Introduction), but whether he worked on any plates while he was there is unknown; he may have obtained the drawing from which he worked and returned with it to Mantua. He could, perhaps, have been commissioned by Lafreri to make the plate, but this, too, can only be conjecture.

Other versions:

1. By Bartolomeo Passaroti. Etching, in reverse, 316 × 485 mm. Bartsch xviii.3.2.
2. By Jacob Matham. Engraving, same direction, 405 × 661 mm. Bartsch iii.181.197; Hollstein (Dutch and Flemish) xi.217.29.

Notes:

1. Vasari, *Lives* (de Vere), p. 1,750; (Milanesi) vii, pp. 16–17.
2. Fawkeners 5211–27. See M. Hirst, “Francesco Salviati’s ‘Visitation,’” *Burlington Magazine*, 103 (1961), pp. 236–40. See also: Iris Cheney, “Francesco Salviati (1510–1563),” Ph.D. dissertation, New York University, 1963 (Ann Arbor, Mich.: University Microfilms, 1976), pp. 68ff., 343; and Rolf Keller, *Das Oratorium von San Giovanni Decollato in Rom: Eine Studie seiner Fresken* (Rome: Institut Suisse de Rome, 1976), pp. 31–39.
3. For example, Massari, *Incisori mantovani*, p. 136, says “Rispetto all’affresco si notano alcune differenze probabilmente da attribuire al bulino di Giorgio. . . .”
4. Cheney, “Salviati,” p. 341.

II The School of Athens

After Raphael

1550

Platemark: ca. 526 × 824 mm., two plates joined, overlapping in places.

States:

A. LEFT PLATE

- i: Before the correction and additional shading. On a large tablet at bottom left: "PAVLVS ATHENIS PER EPICVRAEOS / ET STOICOS QVOSDAM PHILOSO = / PHOS ADDVCTVS IN MARTIŪ VICŪ, / STANS IN MEDIO VICO. SVMPTA OC = / CASIONE AB INSPECTA A SE ARA. / DOCET VNVM ILLVM, VERVM, IPSIS / IGNOTVM DEVM. REPRESENTIT IDO = / LOLATRIAM, SVADET RESIPISCENTIĀ. / INCVLCAT ET VNIVERSALIS IVDICII / DIEM. ET MOR-

TVORVM PER REDIVI = / VVM / CHRISTYM. / RESVVRRECTIONEM. / .ACT. / XVII." (Paul in Athens, brought by the Epicurean and Stoic philosophers to the Areopagus, standing in the middle of the hill. Taking the opportunity from an altar he had seen, he teaches of the one great, true God, unknown to them. He censures idolatry and exhorts them to repentance. He also teaches of both the day of universal judgment and the resurrection of the dead through the reborn Christ. Acts xvii). On the tablet at the end of the bench at center: "RAPHAEL VRB. / .IN. / GEORGIVS MANT. / VANVS / .F." Some guidelines visible in the tablet at lower left and fine vertical scratches, e.g., under left knee of the man leaning on the Raphael



11. *The School of Athens*, state i (left plate), state ii (right plate). Courtesy, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Museum Purchase, 1894

tablet. An extra outline behind left calf of soldier on upper level.

Impressions are very fine and dark.

- ii: The outer calf outline on the soldier burnished out, removing some lines from the area behind it. Vertical scratches mentioned above not visible.

Watermarks: nos. 15 and 42.

- iii: The tablet held by the boy behind the writing philosopher shaded with diagonal lines over existing horizontal lines. Guidelines have disappeared.

Impressions range from very good to late and worn.

Watermark: no. 35.

- iv: The ground to right of central entering figure flecked with short diagonals over existing horizontal lines. Diagonal shading added on the clothing of several figures, including the shoulder of the man at left wearing a wreath and reading.

Impressions are very late and worn.

Watermark: no. 8.

B. RIGHT PLATE

- i: Unfinished and before all letters. Several figures or portions of figures outlined only: the man, center, holding a book, the reading man seated on the step, the statue of Athena in the niche, etc.

We have seen only one impression in this state, at

the Albertina (It.I.30), joined to a first state of the left plate.

- ii: Finished. At lower right, beneath the group of figures: "HIERONYMVS COCK PICTOR EXCVDEBAT. 1550. CVM GRATIA ET PRIVILEGIO P AN. 8."

Impressions range from very fine and early to worn and late.

Watermarks: nos. 15, 42, and 35 (late impressions).

- iii: The ground to left of central entering figure flecked with short diagonals over existing horizontal lines, as is the wall behind the standing figure, right, beneath Athena. Diagonal crosshatching added in several areas: the foot of the man using calipers, the back of the figure at right looking away behind the pointing man on top step, etc.

Watermark: no. 8.

Copies:

1. Anonymous. Engraving, 508 × 815 mm. On central tablet: "RAPHAEL VRB./ IN./ NICOLAI NELLI/ FORMIS/ 1572".
2. Anonymous. Engraving, 502 × 808 mm., with rounded corners. On central tablet: "RAPHAEL VRBIN/ PINXIT INVATI/ CANO", and at bottom: "NIC.º Van aelst formis Romae".

References:

Bartsch 24, Heller-Andresen 9, Massari 199



11. *The School of Athens*, state i (both plates). Graphische Sammlung Albertina, Vienna

The School of Athens is the first of Ghisi's prints to be published by Hieronymus Cock, who established his printing house, Aux Quatre Vents (At the Four Winds), in Antwerp in 1548 or 1550 and may have invited Ghisi to come to Antwerp (see Introduction and Publishers).¹ The engraving is a close rendition of the fresco painted about 1509 to 1511 by Raphael (1483–1520) for the Stanza della Segnatura of the Apostolic Palace in the Vatican (fig. 38; see also no. 13).

In the center of the image, Plato, at left, points upward, holding the *Timeo*, while Aristotle, at right, extends his right hand forward, holding the *Etica*. Several other ancient philosophers have been identified in the scene: Socrates, also on the top level, at left, enumerating points of discussion with his hands; Pythagoras, in the left foreground, writing in a book; Diogenes, the old man on the steps; and Euclid, the man with a pair of compasses. The figure facing front in the left foreground is thought to be Michelangelo; he did not appear in Raphael's full-size cartoon for the fresco and, according to Dussler and others, was added after the first section of the Sistine Chapel was unveiled.²

In Ghisi's engraving, some of the physiognomies and proportions of the figures differ from those in the fresco; the extended right arm of the man below the statue of Apollo, for example, is longer than in the fresco, and in the fresco that figure's head and arm are directly in front of the bas-relief, not below it. The engraving does not have the coffering of the arches or the squared pavement that appear in the fresco, and the upper corners are filled with architecture, making the image rectangular rather than arched. The inscriptions and diagrams that appear on books, papers, and tablets in the fresco are omitted in the print. Nonetheless, the engraving was surely derived from Raphael's finished fresco. The plate would have been made in the engraver's workshop from a drawing of the fresco, probably one made for the purpose, although by whom is uncertain.³

It also is not known who provided the inscription, which is a summary of Acts, chap. xvii, identifying the scene as St. Paul preaching in Athens. Possibly Cock believed that this is what the scene represented, or possibly the inscription was added to render accessible to a potential purchaser a subject that otherwise might have had little meaning.

Another version:

By or for Philippus Thomassinus. Engraving, 490 × 802 mm., with an arched top. A coat of arms on the center tablet replaces Raphael's and Giorgio's names. Raphael's name on the base of the pillar at left, above the tablet. At bottom center, a scroll with Thomassinus's name, dated Rome, 1617. This is apparently a pendant to the Thomassinus version of *The Dispute on the Holy Sacrament*, which is also dated 1617.



Fig. 38. *The School of Athens*. Fresco by Raphael, Stanza della Segnatura, Apostolic Palace, Vatican, Rome. Photo: Art Resource, New York

Notes:

1. Riggs, *Hieronymus Cock*, pp. 29–30, 43.
2. Luitpold Dussler, *Raphael: A Critical Catalogue of His Pictures, Wall-Paintings, and Tapestries* (London: Phaidon, 1971), pp. 73–74. Dussler wrote that “Raphael must have known Michelangelo’s Isaiah and Jeremiah [see our no. 48] when he conceived this motif”; the figure is thus at once a portrait of and homage to the older artist.
3. The use of the word “pictor” after Cock’s name in the inscription could possibly indicate that he made the image from which Ghisi worked. About twenty of the over 400 numbered items in Riggs (prints made by Cock, after Cock, or published by him) include in the inscription the word “pictor” or the equivalent in another language. Quite a few of these items, however, consist of separate series of twenty or more prints, so the total number of images is over 200. They include many topographical views—most of Cock’s known drawings are views—a few large maps, and three monumental figural compositions in addition to the two after Raphael; these include one each after Brueghel and Floris, both of whom worked in Antwerp, and one after Lombard, who was in nearby Liège. The prints after Brueghel and Floris are very large (436 × 720 mm. and 585 × 902 mm., respectively); it stands to reason that no drawing on that scale would have been available for the engraver to follow, and that Cock himself, having looked at the work to consider whether he wanted to publish it, might have made the drawing, or an oil sketch in grisaille, to illustrate how he wanted the engraving to appear. Riggs, in his entry for the large map of Piedmont, on which is inscribed both “Imprime & depainct en Anvers” and “HIERON. COCK & PENECCILLO DESCRIPSIT”, writes: “It is quite likely that Cock made a finished drawing, or even a painting, on the basis of the plan given to him by a cartographer, without himself being the maker of the map” (*Hieronymus Cock*, p. 283). It seems not impossible that for all of the prints with “pictor” or the equivalent in the inscription, Cock made the image from which the engraver worked. Riggs, however, does not believe that Cock—(“or any other Flemish artist of the time”)—could have produced “those massive solid figures, even with Raphael as the basis.” He is “more inclined to believe that Ghisi himself made the drawings he worked from and brought them to Antwerp” (letter, February 1984).

12 *The Last Supper*

After Lambert Lombard

1551

Platemark: 340/354 × 549 mm.

States:

- i: Unfinished and before Ghisi's monogram. Christ's right hand open, the palm toward the front, fingers up. The lines on the floor stop behind the apostles' feet, in the foreground. The curtain farthest right has large white areas. There is a white area on shoulder of figure in front of Christ and another on shoulder of second figure from right.

The only impression known to us, at the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, is trimmed above the step, at bottom.

- ii: Finished and with Ghisi's monogram behind the leg of the standing figure at right. Christ's right hand closed, with the thumb and first two fingers pointing up in a gesture of blessing. Horizontal lines on the floor in the foreground come down almost to the base of the two pitchers. White areas on curtain now shaded with diagonal lines. The figure in front of Christ now shaded with diagonal lines on the right shoulder. The second figure from right, standing, now shaded with diagonal lines on the shoulder and arm. In a tablet at bottom center against the step: "PER ADMIRANDAE MANSVETVDINIS EXEMPLV. / NOVIT PRAESENTEM PRODITOREM, SE PRODITV / IRI INDICAT. PRODITOREM NON PRODIT. MAT. XXVI." (An example of very admirable clemency. He knows the betrayer is present. He announces that He will be betrayed. He does not betray the betrayer. Matthew XXVI). At bottom left: "MAGNO HEROI.D ANTON PERENOTO. / EPISC. ATREBAT. CAROL.V. CAES. A / CONSIL PRIMARIO INSIGNIVM IN. / GENIOR MOECOENATI. DICAT." (The artist dedicates this engraving to the great hero and patron D. Antonio Perenoto, Bishop of Arras and Prime Minister of the Emperor Charles). At bottom right: "LAMBERTVS LOMBARDVS / INVENTOR / HIERONYMVS COCK EXCVDE. / CVM GRA. ET PRIVILEGIO. 1551".

Watermark: no. 15.

- iii: Lines scratched through the plate. Two vertical lines, one 175 mm. in from left edge and one 207 mm.

from the right edge, run straight through the plate. A horizontal line 14 mm. from the top edge runs straight across.

All the impressions we have seen in this state are printed on two sheets joined vertically.

- iv: Added at right, above Lambert Lombard tablet: "Jacques Carpentier excudit" in large script. Cock's address, the privilege, and the lines described in state iii erased.

Watermark: no. 70.

Copy:

By Gaspar ab Avibus. Engraving, 348 × 542 mm. on or outside borderline. In place of Giorgio's monogram: "GASP. / F. / 1564.". At lower right: "LAMBERTVS LOMBARDVS / INVENTOR / NICCOLAVS NELLI / VENETO EXC.". A later state has "Ant. Lafrerij Formis" at lower right.

References:

Bartsch 6, Heller-Andresen 5

*H*ieronymus Cock published thirty-two engravings of subjects by Lambert Lombard (1506–1566).¹ Of these, the earliest—and the only one engraved by Ghisi—is *The Last Supper*, dated 1551. It is one of eight publications by Cock that were dedicated to Antonio Perenoto, Bishop of Arras and later Cardinal Granvelle, who served as Emperor Charles V's minister in the Netherlands, which was then part of the Holy Roman Empire.² Perenoto, a magnanimous supporter of the arts, probably became a patron of Cock's in 1551, the year Cock dedicated to him this engraving as well as the set of twenty-five *Views of Roman Ruins* that Cock himself etched. Of the other monumental religious scenes Cock dedicated to Perenoto, one—reproducing *The Disputa* by Raphael (no. 13)—was also by Ghisi.³

If Ghisi served as a link between the art of Italy and the north, it is not surprising that his only Flemish source was an artist who reflected a strong Italian influence. Lambert Lombard was born in Liège, but spent several for-



12. *The Last Supper*, state ii. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Elisha Whittelsey Collection, The Elisha Whittelsey Fund, 1958. 58.642.10

mative years in Rome before returning to an active career as an artist and architect in his native city. Prolific and well regarded, he influenced a wide circle of painters and artisans;⁴ yet only a century later, the Liègeois artist-writer Louis Abry reported that many of Lombard's altarpieces, triptychs, and glass paintings, having suffered deterioration, were being replaced rather than restored.⁵

Despite a resurgence of interest in Lombard in the past century,⁶ there is still considerable uncertainty in the attribution of works to him. Although Ghisi's engraving was cited as a document of Lombard's style as far back as van Mander,⁷ little attention has been given to determining what it was that Ghisi reproduced. In the Lombard exhibition at the Musée de l'Art Wallon in 1966, the catalogue entry for the print mentions only Ghisi.⁸ Hühn assumes the print is after a lost drawing.⁹ Denhaene suggests that a painting of *The Last Supper*, mentioned in a will of 1579, may be the subject; yet elsewhere she states that the engraving is based on a drawing by Lombard.¹⁰

Van Mander, writing in 1604, however, clearly implied that the source of the print was a painting. An eighteenth-century album of drawings attributed to Lom-

bard contains the comment: "His painting of the Last Supper is admirable, and it has been engraved."¹¹ Although a great many paintings of this subject have been attributed to Lombard,¹² no known version resembles the Ghisi engraving except one now in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts,¹³ attributed to the School of Pieter Coeck van Aelst; this painting, however, is of such poor quality that it could hardly have inspired reproduction in an important engraving. Rather, it would seem that the painting is a pastiche of the engraving.

Lombard was actively engaged in the decoration of Liège's many churches,¹⁴ and it may well be from the grandest of these projects—the frescoes depicting the life of Christ that adorned the choir and transept of the collegial church (later cathedral) of St. Paul—that Ghisi took his design for *The Last Supper*. Writing in the 1660s, Abry gave a firsthand description of Lombard's scene of the Last Supper: "the figures are at the very least life-size and the arrangement very magnificent."¹⁵

Moreover, the existence of what must be regarded as a companion piece to Ghisi's engraving is further evidence that this print reproduces one scene from a Passion cycle. The related print is the unsigned engraving of *Christ Washing the Feet of the Apostles* after Lombard,



12. *The Last Supper*, state i (trimmed at bottom). The Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge

published by Cock and attributed by Riggs to Hans Collaert (fig. 39).¹⁶ Although published no earlier than 1557, after Ghisi had left Antwerp,¹⁷ and engraved in a stiffer, more mannered style than Ghisi's, it nonetheless is related to *The Last Supper* in several ways: these two are the largest of Cock's prints after Lombard; the format of both is a broad rectangle with a step along the bottom on which there is a decorative plaque containing an inscription; both have mobile, individuated figures set against a background of solid classical architecture; and the episodes, which occur together in John (chap. xiii), are both presented as exemplifications of virtues, *The Last Supper* of clemency and *Christ Washing the Feet* of humility. Since the two engravings were clearly based on related originals, now lost, it seems highly probable that they derive from a Passion series like that painted in the transept of St. Paul's. Furthermore, the obvious importance of both of these engravings—in their size and their dedications—also makes it seem much more likely that they reproduced the decoration of a major public monument rather than obscure easel paintings or works that existed only as drawings.

The marked difference in the position of Christ's hand between the unfinished and finished states of Ghisi's engraving (see illustrations, states i and ii) suggests that Ghisi, who was normally precise about such details, worked at first from a preparatory or early drawing of his model, modifying the finished version to reflect Lombard's finished painting. We can only speculate as to the significance of this change from an informal, bene-

dictory gesture to a more iconic one. *The Last Supper*, as portrayed by Ghisi and Lombard, conformed to what had been the traditional Western image of the subject throughout the Middle Ages and much of the Renaissance, focusing on Christ's announcement of his betrayal and the emotional response of his apostles. As Mâle and others have noted, with the coming of the Counter-Reformation in the middle of the sixteenth century, there was a switch in emphasis to the eucharistic aspect of the occasion.¹⁸ The year 1551, in which Ghisi and possibly Lombard worked on this subject, saw the issuance by the Council of Trent of its doctrine of transubstantiation—proclaiming the corporal presence of Christ in the mass—in response to the more symbolic interpretation of Protestant theologians. It is at least possible that this change of gesture, in what remained a traditional rendering of *The Last Supper*, was intended to suggest the act of consecrating the Eucharist as well as to reassert Christ's role as *Salvator Mundi*.

Notes:

1. Riggs, *Hieronymus Cock*, pp. 348–53.
2. Ibid., pp. 47–48; J. Gauthier, "Le Cardinal Granvelle et les artistes de son temps," *Mémoires de la Société d'Emulation du Doubs*, ser. 7, 6 (1901), pp. 305–51.
3. Riggs, *Hieronymus Cock*, pp. 48, 356.
4. Carel van Mander, *Het Schilder-Boeck* (Haarlem: Paschier van Westbusch, 1604), fol. 220; idem., *Dutch and Flemish Painters, Translation from the Schilder-Boeck*, trans. Constant van de Wall (New York: Mc-



Fig. 39. *Christ Washing the Feet of the Apostles*. Engraving, published by Hieronymus Cock. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Elisha Whittelsey Collection, The Elisha Whittelsey Fund, 1949. 49.95.15

Farlane, Warde, McFarlane, 1936), pp. 81–82. See also *Lambert Lombard et son temps*, exhib. cat. (Liège: Musée de l'Art Wallon, 1966).

5. Jules Helbig, *La peinture au pays de Liège et sur les bords de la Meuse* (Liège: Henri Poncelet, 1903), pp. 165–66. Abry, who attributed this deterioration to faulty underpainting, also observed that Lombard's frescoes were being ruined by the use of an improper cement base (p. 163, note 1). In 1687, several of these frescoes in the choir of the church of St. Paul were covered with canvas and decorated with landscapes by Lambert Dumoulin (p. 162).

6. See Godelieve Denhaene, "Lambert Lombard et la peinture flamande de la Renaissance dans la littérature artistique," in *Relations artistiques entre les Pays-Bas et l'Italie à la Renaissance, études dédiées à Suzanne Sulzberger* (Brussels: Institut Historique Belge de Rome, 1980), pp. 101–21.

7. Van Mander, *Het Schilder-Boeck*, fol. 220v; idem., *Dutch and Flemish Painters*, p. 82: "Many of his works have appeared in print; among others, a large *Last Supper* which is very fine in its composition, and in expression, and other effects. So cleverly and artistically has he arranged this work, that Lombardus may well be placed among the best painters of the Netherlands, of the past and of the present. With this I recommend his name to fame."

8. *Lambert Lombard et son temps*, no. 233.

9. Ellen Hühn, "Lambert Lombard als Zeichner," Ph.D. dissertation, Westfälische Wilhelms-Universität, 1970, p. 147, no. 3.

10. Denhaene, "Lambert Lombard," pp. 106, 108.

11. *Dessins de Lambert Lombard, ex-collection d'Arenberg*, exhib. cat. (Liège: Musée de l'Art Wallon, 1963), p. 9. The original reads: "Son tableau de la Cène est admirable, il est gravé." The use of the word "tableau" points to an easel painting rather than a fresco, but it is possible that the author was not aware of the exact painted source. It is also possible that he was describing the engraving of the same subject by Goltzius of 1585 after a painting attributed to Lombard: Hollstein (*Dutch and Flemish*) viii.12.33; Walter L. Strauss, ed. *Hendrik Goltzius, 1558–1617*:

The Complete Engravings and Woodcuts, 2 vols. (New York: Abaris, 1977), no. 222.

12. See *Lambert Lombard et son temps*, nos. 109, 119, 120.

13. Inventory no. 15.290. Hymans named this painting as the source of the print: *Le livre des peintres de Carel van Mander*, ed. and trans. Henri Hymans (Paris: J. Rouain, 1884), p. 208, note 1.

14. Helbig, *La peinture au pays de Liège*, pp. 161–68.

15. Abry wrote that the painting was executed by Lombard himself, rather than by his students, who may have done neighboring panels. He suggested a date of 1558, but only because the canons who commissioned the fresco "died around that time." It is entirely possible that the painting was done in 1551 or before (*ibid.*, p. 163, note 1). Helbig gives the source of the Abry quotation as the *Bulletin de l'Institut archéologique liégeois*, viii, p. 285.

16. Riggs, *Hieronymus Cock*, no. 157, fig. 138; Hollstein (*Dutch and Flemish*) xi.93.11 (under Lombard); *Lambert Lombard et son temps*, no. 256, pl. 36.

17. The undated print is dedicated to Robert de Berghes, Bishop of Liège, who assumed that title in 1557 (Riggs, *Hieronymus Cock*, p. 119, note 24).

18. This trend culminated in such paintings as Rubens's *Christ Consecrating the Bread and Wine*, in the Brera. See Emile Mâle, *L'Art religieux après le Concile de Trente* (Paris: Armand Colin, 1932), pp. 72–76. Gertrud Schiller, *Iconography of Christian Art*, trans. Janet Seligman. 2 vols. (London: Lund, Humphries, 1972), II, pp. 28ff., 38, notes that the Communion of Apostles had been a liturgical image in Eastern art as far back as the fifth century, not emerging in Western art until the Middle Ages. Both Mâle and Schiller observe that the more mystical Italian artists of the fifteenth century also stressed the Eucharist. A painting from the studio of Fra Angelico (Schiller, fig. 107) shows Christ consecrating the chalice of wine, his raised right hand in much the same position as that of Ghisi's finished state, though with stigmata.

SUZANNE BOORSCH AND ROSE-HELEN BREININ

13 *The Dispute on the Holy Sacrament*

After Raphael

1552

Platemark: 514/517 × 845/855 mm., two plates joined.

States:

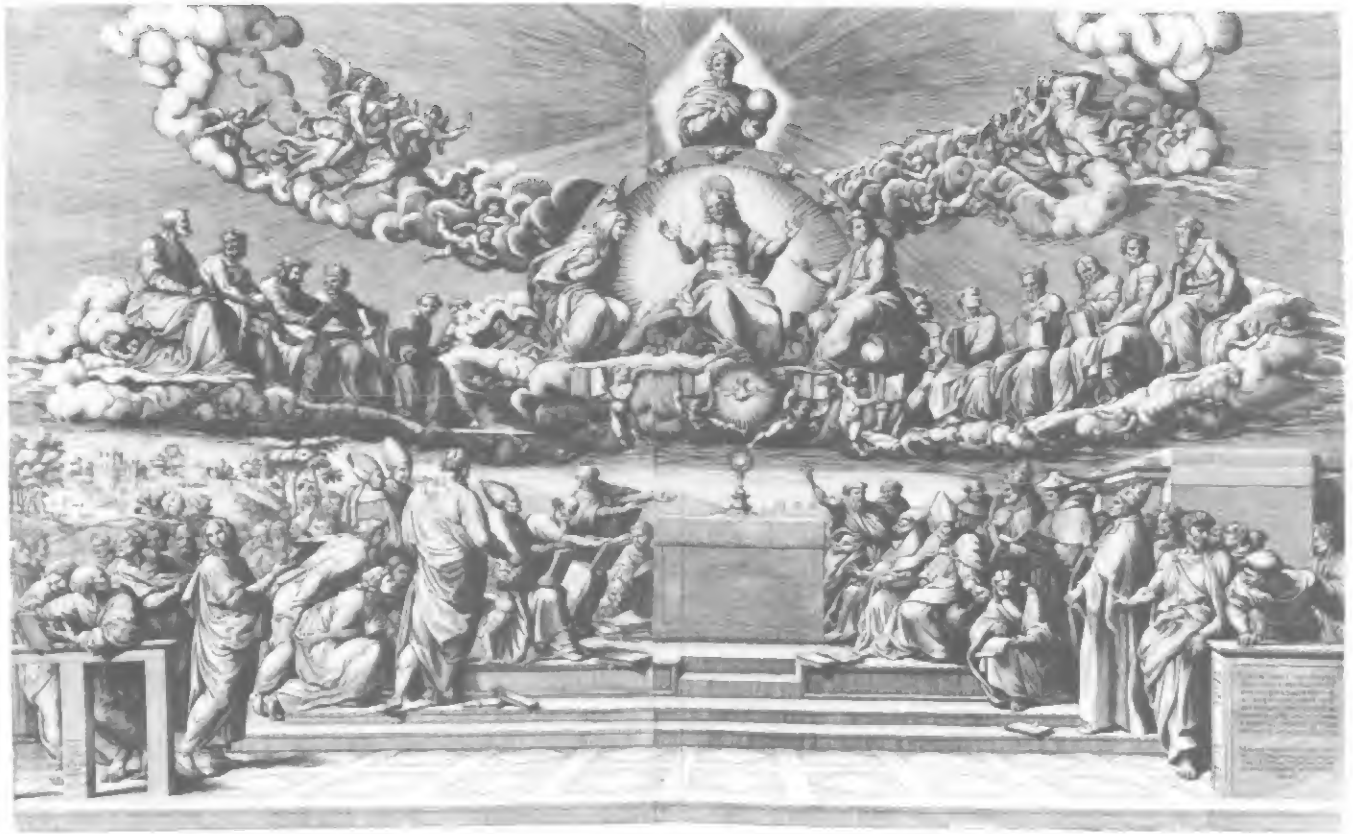
A. LEFT PLATE

Only state. On the post of the railing, lower left: "HIERONY/ MVS/ COCK/ PICTOR/ EXCV./ M.D.LII/ CVM/ GRATIA/ ET/ PRIVIL = / EGIO".

B. RIGHT PLATE

Only state. On the face of the low wall, lower right: "COLLAUDANT HIC TRINI/ VNVSQUE DEI MAIESTATĒ/ COELITES. ADMIRANTVR/ AC RELIGIOSE ADORANT/ SACROSANCTAE ECCLESIAE/ PROCERES. QVIS VEL ISTOR/ EXEMPLO

PROVOCATVS AD/ PIETATĒ NON INFLĀMETVR" (Here the Heavenly Hosts praise the majesty of the triune and the one God. They admire and religiously adore the princes of the sacred Church. Who, roused by that example, would not be inflamed to piety?). Lower, on the same wall: "MAGNO HEROI.D. ANTON PERE/ NOTO EPISC. ATREBAT CAROLV/ CAES. A CONSIL PRIMARIO. INSI/ GNIVM INGENIOR. MOECOENATI/DICAT." (The artist dedicates this engraving to the great hero and patron D. Antonio Perenoto, Bishop of Arras and prime minister of the Emperor Charles). To the left of this, on the end of the same wall: "RA/ PHA/ EL/ VRB/ .IN.". A blank space, then: "GIE/ OR/ G^o/ MAN/ TVA N^o./ .F.".



13. *The Dispute on the Holy Sacrament*. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Elisha Whittelsey Collection, The Elisha Whittelsey Fund, 1949. 49.97.466



Fig. 40. *The Dispute on the Holy Sacrament*. Fresco by Raphael, Stanza della Segnatura, Apostolic Palace, Vatican, Rome. Photo: Art Resource, New York

The two plates join vertically at the center, just beyond the right hand of Jesus. A light ruled borderline across the bottom, ca. 3 mm. inside the platemark, up the left side to the base of the trees, ca. 1 mm. inside the platemark, and up the right side to 81 mm. from the top, ca. 1 to 2 mm. inside the platemark.

Watermark: no. 15.

LeBlanc, Andresen, and Massari mention a second state, LeBlanc without description and Andresen describing it as later and retouched. We have never observed it, though we have seen a number of late and worn impressions. Massari's "first state, unknown to Bartsch," is actually the anonymous copy (see below). Perhaps LeBlanc and Andresen saw the same copy and thought it was a first state.

Copies:

1. Anonymous. Engraving, same size and direction. No letters on the post at left and no engraver's name after Raphael's at right. The mountain to right of the altarpiece has no building on top, and there are other differences.
2. By Gaspar ab Avibus. Engraving, same size and direction. Below the post at left: "Nicolaus Nelli Venetus Escu. 1565.". On the end of the low wall at right, replacing Giorgio's name: "Ga./P./f.".

References:

Bartsch 23, Heller-Andresen 8, LeBlanc 25, Massari 200

The third engraving by Ghisi published by Hieronymus Cock was based on another of the frescoes painted by Raphael about 1509–10 for the Stanza della Segnatura of the Vatican Palace (fig. 40; see also no. 11). Like Ghisi's print of Lombard's *The Last Supper* (no. 12), it is dedicated to Antonio Perenoto, Bishop of Arras, later Cardinal Granvelle.

On the vertical axis of the picture is the Trinity, with God the Father above, God the Son at the center, and the Dove of the Holy Spirit below. To right and left of Christ are the Virgin and St. John the Baptist; slightly below them, on a cloudbank, are the Elect—the saints and the Old Testament figures. Directly beneath the Trinity is the Eucharist, on an altar. Flanking the altar are the Four Fathers of the Church—Sts. Gregory and Jerome, Augustine and Ambrose—sixteenth-century churchmen, and others, including Dante behind the pope at the right, identified as Sixtus IV.¹

The Disputation, like *The School of Athens*, was clearly made from an image taken from the finished fresco, although there are some obvious variations. For example, unlike the fresco, the print is a rectangular, not an arched, composition. The head of the man peering over the two

figures near the railing at lower left is distinctly larger in scale than it is in the fresco. In the print, the angels appear only in the band of clouds, whereas in the fresco they appear in vertical rows throughout the upper sky. Moreover, the halos on the heads of the Virgin and six seated saints, the inscriptions on the books, and the decoration on the altar hangings and the papal clothing have been omitted in the print. On the other hand, the pattern on the floor has been elaborated. It seems as though whoever made the drawing that Ghisi followed worked as quickly as possible, relying for some details on memory, which in the case of the floor pattern proved faulty. The identity of the artist who made the drawing from which Ghisi worked is unknown.²

Another version:

By or for Philippus Thomassinus. Engraving, in the same direction, 500 × 840 mm., with an arched top. At lower left: "Phls Thomassinus excudit Romae 1617". Added in a later state: "Gio Giacomo de Rossi formis Rome 1648. alla Pace". Massari, fig. 69.

Notes:

1. See Dussler, *Raphael*, p. 71.

2. This print, like *The School of Athens*, is inscribed "Hieronymus Cock Pictor"; see no. 11, note 3.

14 *The Nativity*

After Bronzino

1553

Platemark: 662/657 × 454/455 mm., two plates joined.

States:

A. TOP PLATE. 331 × 454/455 mm.

- i: Before all letters. Circles at top corners blank. A light borderline at lower left and right sides, and for 85 mm. along bottom from left corner, all ca. 1 to 2 mm. inside the platemark.

We have seen only one impression in this state, joined to state ii of the lower plate, at the British Museum (C 57).

- ii: With letters in circles. Left circle: "Maria/ Heli.F. omnium/ foeminarum felicibus so= / la inter virgines foecunda,/ parit tot saeculis expec-/ tatum Salvatorem Me-/ ssiam. Anno, Mundi./ MMM. DCCCC.LX/ pl. mi." (Maria, daughter of Heli, fortunate of all women, alone fruitful among maidens, bears the Saviour Messiah awaited for so many centuries. In the year of the world 3960 plus or minus). Right circle: "Haec eadem,/ ut illum mirifice ex/ se natum alacriter edu-/ cavit, ita et grandia fa-/ cientem, gravia tolerantem,/ morientem, resurgentem, ad/ patrem redeuntem, con-/ spexit, carum mox sequutura fili-/ um" (That same woman, as she had reared him who was wonderfully born of her, so she also saw him doing great things, enduring painful things, dying, rising from the grave, returning to his father. She is soon to follow her dear son).

Published state, when joined to the fourth state of the bottom plate.

Watermarks: nos. 67 and 69.

B. BOTTOM PLATE. 332 × 454 mm.

- i: Unfinished and before all letters. Olive branch held by the angel unfinished. Background behind wall blank. A ruled borderline across the bottom and partially on the sides, ca. 2 mm. inside the platemark.

We have seen only one impression in this state, at the British Museum (C 54).

- ii: Finished, and with "GEORGIVS/ GHISIVS/ MNTVANVS/ F.M.D.LIII" on the tablet buried in the ground below the child.

We have seen only one impression in this state, joined to the first state of the top plate, at the British Museum (C 57).

- iii: Added in bottom left corner: "ANGILO BRON = / SIN^t FIORENTINO/ INVĒ. H. COCK/ EXCUD. 1554".

We have seen only one impression in this state, at the British Museum (C 57).

- iv: Added, below the knee of the kneeling shepherd at left, in italics: "*Cum gratia et privi./ per An. 6*".

Published state, joined to the second state of the top plate.

Watermarks: nos. 40, 67, and 69.

Copies:

1. By G. B. Cavalieri. Engraving, in reverse, 451 × 305 mm. Dated 1565.
2. Anonymous. Engraving, 659 × 439 mm. In upper half, the third line from the bottom of the inscription in the left circle begins: "Anno . . .". Letters in the right circle end with "filium" on one line. The tablet below the child has vertical diagonal lines instead of letters. In bottom right margin: "Romae: ex Typis Ant./ Lafrerij".

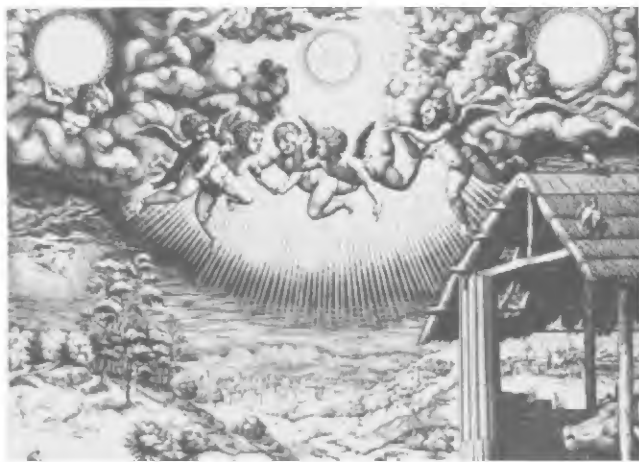
References:

Bartsch 3, Heller-Andresen 2, Massari 201

Ghisi's fourth print to be published by Hieronymus Cock reproduces, in reverse, *The Nativity* by the Florentine artist Agnolo Bronzino (1503–1572), painted in the late 1530s for Filippo d'Averardo Salviati of Florence (fig. 41).¹ The print is virtually the same size as the painting and renders it faithfully except for a few additions: the wreaths with inscriptions and the angels holding them; the clouds behind the angels; most of the greenery, in-



14. *The Nativity*, state ii (top plate), state iv (bottom plate). The Saint Louis Art Museum, The Sidney S. and Sadie Cohen Print Purchase Fund



14. *The Nativity*, top plate, state i. The British Museum, London



14. *The Nativity*, bottom plate, state i. The British Museum, London

cluding the prominent tree at the upper left; the walled town and other buildings in the background; the two birds on the roof of the stable; and more height in the wall behind the Virgin on the side toward the stable. The additions seem to have been Ghisi's inventions, since they are similar to details in several other of his engravings.

In his *Life of Marcantonio Raimondi*, Vasari writes:

On another [plate] he [Cock] represented Moses passing across the Red Sea, according as it had been painted by Agnolo Bronzino . . . in the upper chapel in the Palace of the Duke of Florence; and in competition with him, also after the design of Bronzino, Giorgio Mantovano engraved a Nativity of Jesus Christ which was very beautiful.²

Moreover, in the *Life of Bronzino*, Vasari mentions both painting and print again:

For Filippo d'Averardo Salviati he executed a Nativity of Christ in a small picture with little figures, of such beauty that it has no equal, as everyone knows, that work being now in engraving.³

Vasari's statement that this print was the result of some sort of formal or informal "competition" can be



Fig. 41. *The Nativity*. Oil painting by Agnolo Bronzino. Szépművészeti Múzeum, Budapest

neither proven nor disproven. Riggs does not discuss the question. *The Crossing of the Red Sea* is roughly half the size of *The Nativity*; it is on one plate (329 × 424 mm., according to Riggs).⁴ It is undated, and the engraver is unknown. Vasari's remark and also his statement that this print "has no equal" reflects, however, a sensibility typical of the sixteenth century, which viewed art in terms of competition and comparisons between past and present, between sculpture and painting, and, of course, between one artist and another.

Raffaello Borghini, in his *Il riposo*, published in 1584, makes a telling observation:

Antonio Salviati has a painting by Bronzino of The Nativity of Christ in little figures, which is considered a very rare thing, as it truly is, and it can be seen in a print, and copied in many places, which Salviati has courteously allowed.⁵

The original subjects for the prints Ghisi had done before this point all belonged to secular rulers (the dukes of Mantua) or to ecclesiastical bodies, including the papacy. This was the first of Ghisi's prints known with certainty to have reproduced a work that belonged to a private individual, and Borghini's remark seems to indicate that such an occurrence would have been unusual throughout the sixteenth century.

Notes:

1. Now in the Szépművészeti Múzeum, Budapest, no. 161. Oil on poplar, 653 × 467 mm.

2. Vasari, *Lives* (de Vere), p. 1,263; (Milanesi) v, pp. 438–39.

3. Vasari, *Lives* (de Vere), p. 2,071; (Milanesi) vii, p. 596.

4. Riggs, *Hieronymus Cock*, p. 317.

5. Raffaello Borghini, *Il riposo* (Florence: Giorgio Marescotti, 1548), p. 535. Grateful thanks to Robert B. Simon for pointing out this reference.

15 *The Vision of Ezekiel*

After Giovanni Battista Bertani

1554

Platemark: 417 × 680 mm.

States:

i: Unfinished. The tablet on base of tomb blank. The banderole held by the putti blank. A mountain rises behind the feet of the two flying putti at right. In a small tablet resting against a skull at lower right: "GEORGIVS/ DE GHISI/ MANTVAN⁹/ .F./ M.D.LIII". A light borderline nearly all around, ca. 2 mm. inside platemark.

We have seen only two impressions in this state, at the British Museum (C 57) and at Chatsworth (vol. III, p. 84).

ii: Finished and before any publisher's address. The mountain behind the feet of the flying putti at right removed, and sky lowered to the new horizon. Added in the tablet on base of the tomb at left: "IO:BAPTISTA/ BRITANO/ MANTVAN⁹/ .IN.". On the banderole held by the putti: "DABO SVPER VOS NER VOS ET SVCCRESCERE FACIA SVP VOS CARNE" (I will lay sinews and flesh upon you).

We have seen only one impression in this state, at the Albertina (It.I.30).

iii: Added at bottom center: "ANT. LAFRERII".

Watermark: no. 53.



15. *The Vision of Ezekiel*, state iii. Courtesy of The Art Institute of Chicago, The Charles Greene Fund, 1961.781



15. *The Vision of Ezekiel, state i* (trimmed at left). The British Museum, London

iv: Lafreri's name erased and replaced by "*Cristoforo blanco for Romae 1595*" in italics.

v: Blanco's name erased, leaving "*Romae*" on the rock below the plant to the right of where Lafreri's name used to be.

vi: Added, on base of the tomb at left, below Bertani's tablet: "*Si Stampano da Gio: Iacomo de Rossi in Roma alla Pace*".

Watermarks: nos. 45, 46, and 63.

The plate is in the Calcografia Nazionale, inventory no. 474.

References:

Bartsch 69, Heller-Andresen 22, Massari 202

The text on the banderole is from Ezekiel (chap. 37, v. 6): "Behold, I will cause breath to enter into you, and ye shall live: and I will lay sinews upon you, and will bring up flesh upon you, and cover you with skin, and put

breath in you, and ye shall live; and ye shall know that I am the Lord." The print depicts Ezekiel's apocalyptic vision, set in a valley of dry bones.

In his article on Ghisi, Zerner wrote, "*The Vision of Ezekiel* is the first work of Ghisi's that really succeeds as an engraving, also the first that partakes of the original esthetic of his generation."¹ It is also the first of three engravings Ghisi did that were based on works by his friend Giovanni Battista Bertani (1516–1576), whom he knew in Mantua and with whom he is known to have visited monuments in Rome during the papacy of Paul III (1534–49) (see Introduction).² Ghisi's engravings are the only prints ever made of Bertani's compositions. Bertani, a native of Mantua, was a draughtsman, painter, and architect who, three years after Giulio Romano's death, succeeded Giulio as *prefetto delle fabbriche ducale*, artistic overseer of all the ducal buildings and their decoration, in 1549.³

It seems probable that Ghisi and Bertani were in contact about 1554. The three engravings Ghisi did from Bertani compositions follow in quick succession. *The Vision of Ezekiel* was published by Lafreri in Rome, and it was apparently in the publisher's hands very soon after it was completed, as only one impression of the engraving in its finished state but without a publisher's address is known (see state ii, above).

The accuracy of the anatomy of the skeletons in this print suggests that Bertani had seen Andreas Vesalius's *De Humani Corporis Fabrica*, published at Basel in 1543—although none of Bertani's skeletons is directly copied from Vesalius. The tomb at the right of the engraving, while again not a direct copy, was surely inspired by the tomb of Pietro Strozzi, designed by Giulio Romano in 1529 and still today in the Church of San Andrea in Mantua. That tomb, although more lavishly decorated than the one Bertani has drawn, also has four draped female figures standing on a base and supporting a sarcophagus.⁴

Notes:

1. Zerner, "Ghisi et la gravure maniériste," p. 76.
2. The three engravings by Ghisi based on Bertani's designs are *The Vision of Ezekiel* and nos. 16 and 24. It is possible that nos. 62 and 63 also derive from works by Bertani.
3. A complete study is yet to be done of this elusive figure. Bertani's major work in architecture was the Palatine Basilica of St. Barbara (see nos. 57, 60–63); he also drew compositions for the paintings on the altar of that basilica and in the major chapels of the Church of San Pietro, which were completed by other artists; see Chiara Tellini Perina, "'Bertanus Invenit': Considerazioni su alcuni aspetti della cultura figurativa del cinquecento a Mantova," *Antichità viva*, 13 (1974), pp. 17–29. Bertani enjoyed the protection of Cardinal Ercole Gonzaga and dedicated his book on the Ionic order to him (see no. 24), but after the cardinal's death in 1563, Bertani, who was suspected of heresy, was tried by the Inquisition and imprisoned for several months during 1567–68 (see Marani and Perina, *Mantova: Le arti*, III, pp. 3–70, especially pp. 11–12). He did not lose his post, however, and after regaining his freedom, continued to exercise his duties until his death in 1576. See also Francesco Pellati, "Giovanni Battista Bertani, architetto, pittore, commentatore di Vitruvio," in *Scritti di storia dell'arte in onore di Mario Salmi* (Rome: De Luca, 1963), III, pp. 31–38.
4. Marani and Perina, *Mantova: Le arti*, II, pl. 143.

I6 *The Judgment of Paris*

After Giovanni Battista Bertani

1555

Platemark: 404/405 × 532/535 mm.

States:

i: Unfinished and before letters. The tablet at lower left blank. Contour shading only on the back and leg of the putto climbing into the chariot and the head of the putto visible above the far side of the chariot. Landscape with mountains visible in the

opening of the rock behind Venus's head. A fine borderline all around, 396 × 525 mm.

We have seen only one impression in this state, at the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.

ii: Unfinished and before letters. Two pairs of flying birds added in the sky, upper right, and another pair above the landscape visible through the rock. The



16. *The Judgment of Paris*, state i. The Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge

back and leg of the putto climbing into the chariot and the head of the putto visible above the chariot edge now shaded with diagonal parallel lines.

We have seen only one impression in this state, at the Albertina (It.I.30).

- iii: Finished. In tablet at left: "BAPTISTA BERTANO MATVA. / NVS INVENTOR/ GEORGIVS GHISI MANTVANVS/ FECIT/ HIERONYMVVS COCK EXCUDE. / .M.D.L.V. / CŪ GRĀËT. PRE. CAES. M. AD. SEXĒNIVM". The landscape visible through the rock now removed and replaced by the horizon line of the sea. Mountains in the distance behind Minerva's head removed.

At the bottom, a separate plate, ca. 18 × 404 mm., is sometimes present in this state, with the inscription: "QVANTVM FORMA FVGAX, QVANTVM VENVS IMPROBA POSSIT, EXEMPLO EST STOLIDI IVDICIVM PARIDIS." (The judgment of the uncultivated Paris

is an example of how fleeting beauty is and how dishonorable Venus can be).

Watermarks: nos. 15 and 29.

We have seen no late or worn impressions of this print.

Weigel describes an impression on blue paper, but does not make clear which state it is.

References:

Bartsch 60, Heller-Andresen 18, Weigel III, 13627a

The Judgment of Paris, the second print Ghisi made based on a composition by Bertani, presumably was completed in Antwerp in 1555, as it was published by Hieronymus Cock in that year. The best-known version of



16. *The Judgment of Paris*, state iii. Courtesy, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Harvey D. Parker Collection



Fig. 42. *The Judgment of Paris*. Drawing by Giovanni Battista Bertani. Musei Civici del Castello Visconteo, Pavia

this enormously popular subject¹ was the engraving by Marcantonio Raimondi after a design by Raphael, made in Rome before 1520.² During the sixteenth century, most Italian renderings of the subject derived from the Marcantonio engraving, and Bertani's composition is no exception. He has made the subject distinctly his own, nonetheless, by the addition of some elements not found in other versions. For example, following the Marcantonio, many versions show the three goddesses who are being judged—Venus, Juno, and Minerva—in front, back, and side views. Bertani, however, has chosen to show all three of the goddesses' bodies in approximately a three-quarter, frontal view, but with their heads in three different positions: Venus is shown almost full face, Minerva in left profile, and Juno, looking back, in right profile. Venus, closest to Paris—who sits toward the left in his Phrygian cap, as in the Marcantonio print—is almost completely nude, whereas the other two goddesses are draped. Juno has apparently just arrived in her chariot, while putti are already at play in the chariots of the other two goddesses. Mercury stands near Paris, looking to-

ward the far left at two satyrs, who stand where three nymphs sit in the Marcantonio composition.

In the sky above, Apollo, at left, drives his quadriga upward, signifying the rising sun, while Diana in her biga on the right symbolizes the setting moon. In the center is an edifice, a sort of gateway of time, through which the chariots of sun and moon must pass. It is supported by the Ionic columns dear to Bertani, who began his treatise on the Ionic order in the year after he completed this composition (see no. 24). On the front of this edifice are the names of ten months, January through May at the left, June and September through December at the right. Arching over the structure is a belt with the signs of the zodiac on which the sign of Gemini is visible at the left and Sagittarius, Aquarius, and Pisces on the right. While the zodiac belt clearly derives from Marcantonio, Bertani has incorporated this element into a much more elaborate visual allegory of time.

The placement of the figure of Paris derives from the Marcantonio print, but in pose the figure is even closer



Fig. 43. Detail, *The Feast for Cupid and Psyche*. Fresco after a design by Giulio Romano, Sala di Psiche, Palazzo del Te, Mantua.
Photo: Art Resource, New York

to that of Apollo painted in fresco, after a design by Giulio Romano, on the south wall of the Sala di Psiche in the Palazzo del Te, Mantua (fig. 43; for a later print by Ghisi reproducing part of the decoration of this wall, see no. 50).

A drawing, presumably by Bertani (fig. 42), in the Malaspina Collection of the Museo Civico, Pavia, is the same size as the print and most probably is the model from which Ghisi worked.³ Ghisi took the liberty of changing the background, replacing Bertani's vaguely delineated woods to the left with a cleft rock topped with a profusion of bushes and adding a vista of sea, town, and mountains to the right. The cleft rock behind Venus's head does set her off better than the dark background of the drawing; to look at Bertani's composition, if one were not familiar with the story, one might think that Minerva would be the chosen goddess. In the early states (see illustration), the cleft in the rock is filled with landscape; later, Ghisi decided to continue the horizon line of the sea in the cleft, giving the composition much more clarity.

The omission of the months of July and August and the astrological sign for Capricorn—which should be between Sagittarius and Aquarius—is a puzzling element in the print. The inclusion of only ten months, however, was probably an allusion on Bertani's part to the Roman calendar, which in early times did have only ten months.

The astrological sign before Aquarius in the drawing is indistinct, and Bertani may indeed have meant it as Capricorn; if Ghisi simply misinterpreted this as the sign for Sagittarius, then no particular significance can be read into its omission.

It is not known whether Bertani made the drawing specifically for Ghisi to engrave, or for some other purpose.

Notes:

1. A. Pigler, *Barockthemen*, 3 vols. (2nd rev. ed. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1974), II, pp. 204–12, lists approximately 120 works on this theme by artists of the sixteenth century.
2. Bartsch XIV.197.245; Henri Delaborde, *Marc-Antoine Raimondi* (Paris: Librairie de l'Art, 1888), no. 114.
3. Pen and brown ink, brown wash, heightened with white, 388 × 524 mm.

17 *The Mystic Marriage of St. Catherine*

After Primaticcio
Mid-1550s



17. *The Mystic Marriage of St. Catherine*, state i (trimmed at bottom). Courtesy, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Harvey D. Parker Collection

Platemark: 328 × 253 mm.

States:

- i: Before any publisher's address. On tablet at bottom center: "FRANCISCVS.BOLOGNA./ INVEN./ .G.MF.". A light borderline all around, 325 × 251 mm., and a blank margin at base measuring ca. 4 mm.
- ii: Added at bottom center in blank margin: "Romae Ant^o Lafrerij". The top of the "R" touches the bottom borderline.
- iii: Lafreri's address erased, but faint traces still visible.

This state may also be distinguished from the first by the fact that the impressions are light and worn.

The plate, which was not technically successful, became very worn while still in Lafreri's hands. It was probably for this reason that he had it copied (see *Copy* no. 1).

Copies:

1. Anonymous. Engraving, in the same direction, 330 × 255 mm. There are no clouds in the sky. At bottom center in a tablet: "ANT^o LAFRERII/ ROMAE".
2. Anonymous. Engraving, in the same direction, 324 × 250 mm., inside platemark. Crudely engraved with "FRANCISCVS BOLOGNA/ INVEN.". Only one boat is visible in the river behind St. Catherine's head. (In the original there are three boats.) Massari calls this another version, but it seems too close to Ghisi to be anything but a copy. Massari 216.

References:

Bartsch 12, LeBlanc 17, Dimier 58, Fontainebleau 345, Massari 215

Ghisi did no more prints for Hieronymus Cock after 1555, and we assume he left Antwerp, apparently to go to France (see Introduction). Three of Ghisi's prints are dated 1556 (nos. 20–22). Since his technique seems more developed in those than in *The Mystic Marriage of St. Catherine*, *Venus and Vulcan Seated on a Bed* (no. 18), and *Venus and Vulcan at the Forge* (no. 19)—all undated—we have inserted these three prints here. Further, Vasari mentions that Luca Penni (see nos. 21–23, 27) published a number of prints, among them a *Marriage of St. Catherine* based on a Primaticcio composition.¹ Although there is another engraved version of this composition (see below), it seems likely that Vasari was referring to Giorgio's print.² If Penni did publish Ghisi's print, it would have to have been made before 1557, the year Penni

died. In fact, judging from its style, it could have been made as early as 1550.

Francesco Primaticcio (1504–1570), born in Bologna, worked with Giulio Romano in Mantua, where Ghisi may have known, or known of, him. In 1532, when Giorgio was twelve years old, Primaticcio left for Fontainebleau, where he stayed the rest of his life, becoming head of the atelier of artists after Rosso's death in 1540. His elongated, elegant style became synonymous with Fontainebleau and indeed influenced the character of all French art of the sixteenth century. Primaticcio traveled between Fontainebleau and Rome in the 1540s, so it is entirely possible that he had contact with Ghisi in Italy before Giorgio went to northern Europe. Ghisi also made engravings after two sets of ceiling panels by Primaticcio (nos. 30–37), but these, again judging from Ghisi's style, were clearly made much later.

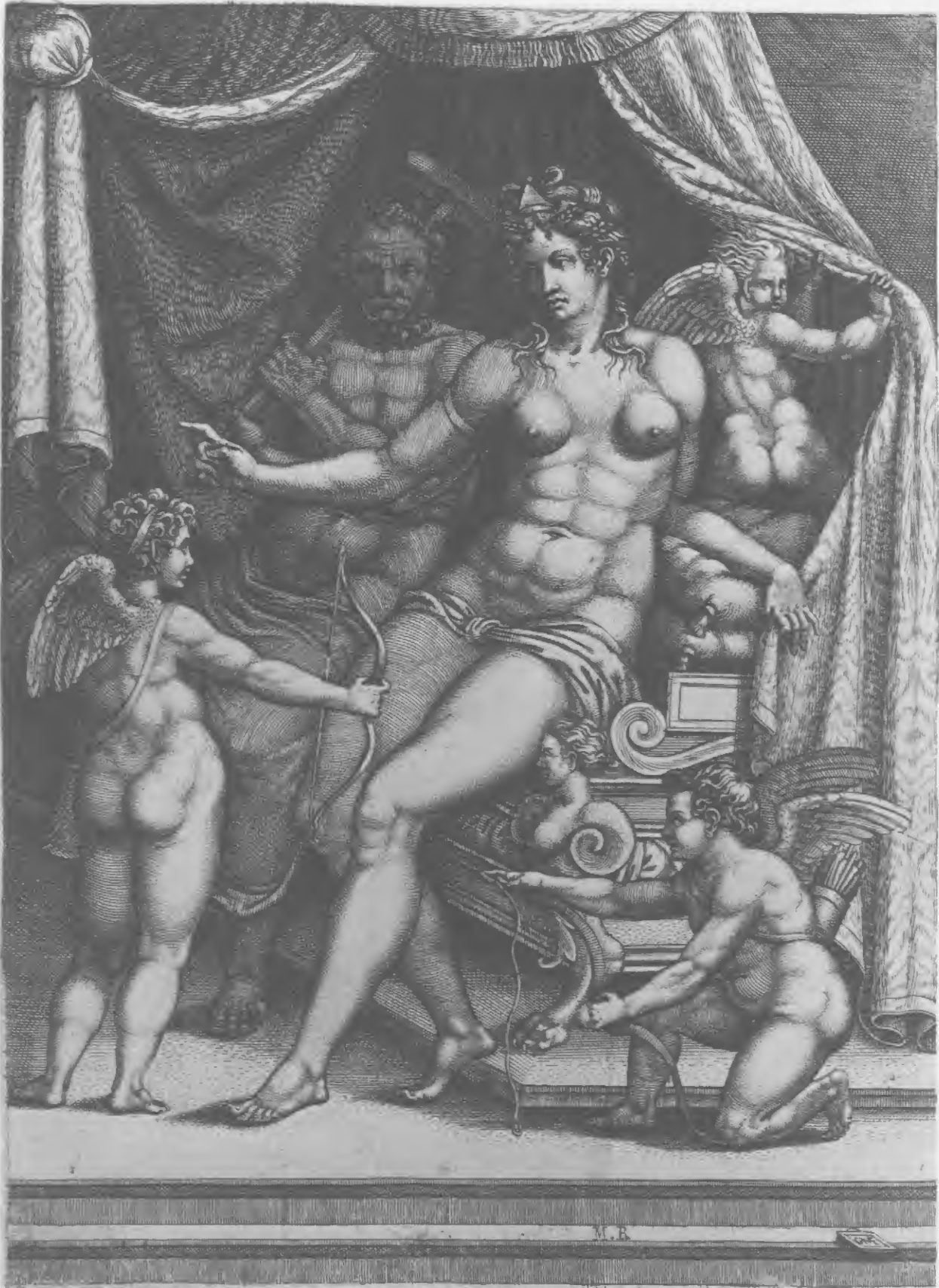
The engraving reproduces a painting by Primaticcio on a religious theme, an aspect of his work much less well known than his mythological subjects. The original by Primaticcio is lost; Massari reproduces a variant composition from a collection in Rome that is attributed to Perino del Vaga. It is in the same direction but shows St. Catherine's arms in a different position and the Infant Christ putting the ring on St. Catherine's left hand, rather than her right; there are also minor discrepancies in the poses of all the figures. According to Massari, the painting in Rome was copied from a drawing by Primaticcio in Crozat's collection.

Another version:

Anonymous. Engraving, in reverse, 238 × 170 mm. (image) plus a decorative border measuring 7.5 mm. Without letters. There is no step at the bottom. The back of St. Catherine's cloak is cut off by the borderline and she has no wheel. Massari, p. 152, fig. 78.

Notes:

1. Vasari, *Lives* (de Vere), p. 1,261; (Milanesi) v, p. 434.
2. In this passage Vasari specifies nine titles, "and many other plates copied from the designs of the same Rosso and of Francesco Primaticcio of Bologna," but he mentions no printmakers' names. Most of the prints, nonetheless, are identifiable.



18. *Venus and Vulcan Seated on a Bed*, state ia. Private collection, USA

18 *Venus and Vulcan Seated on a Bed*

After Perino del Vaga (?)

Mid-1550s

Platemark: 283/287 × 205/208 mm.

States:

- ia: Before any publisher's address, and before the crack in the plate. Giorgio's monogram on a tablet on the step, lower right. A borderline nearly all around, 280 × 204 mm.

Watermark: no. 43.

- ib: Before any publisher's address. A vertical crack in the plate extends from the bottom edge almost up to the foot of the standing putto.

- ii: Added at the edge of the top step at right, beginning beneath the kneeling putto's left foot: "ANT. LAFRERI.".

- iii: Lafreri's address erased, but often still faintly visible.

This state may be distinguished from state ib by the fact that impressions are light and not rich.

Watermarks: nos. 47 and 48.

The plate was in the inventory of the Calcografia Nazionale in 1816, but was probably destroyed as obscene by order of Pope Leo XII after May 1823, according to Massari.

References:

Mariette, p. 375; Bartsch 35; Massari 190

Traditionally the design for this print, like that for *Venus and Vulcan at the Forge* (no. 19), has been assigned to Perino del Vaga (1501–1547), although Ghisi did not inscribe the designer's name in the plate as he did for that engraving. This prolific follower of Raphael was born Piero Buonaccorsi in Florence. By 1518 he was assisting Raphael in the Vatican Logge, and in 1525 he married the sister of Gianfrancesco and Luca Penni. After the sack of Rome in 1527, Perino worked in Genoa and

Pisa until his return to Rome, by 1538, where he then executed several important papal commissions.

Mariette expressed doubt about the Perino attribution, suggesting that "a master of a less productive genius . . . Luca Penni," Perino's brother-in-law, may have designed the image instead. Several factors, however, indicate that Penni did not make the design. In the four known examples by Ghisi based on Penni compositions (nos. 21–23, 27), the engraver acknowledges the artist in the plate. Also, the manner in which the anatomy of the figures is rendered, especially that of Venus, resembles the print inscribed as reproducing a Perino composition more than the four engravings known to have been based on Penni designs. No drawing or painting by Perino that could have served as a model for this print has been identified. Massari tentatively dates the original design by Perino in the same period (1528–32) as his drawings for the *Amore degli dei* engravings by Jacopo Caraglio, although this subject would have been inappropriate for such a series.¹ The figures in this print and no. 19 have much more in common with the later designs by Perino, which Davidson dates to 1539–40,² and which were reproduced in a group of four engravings no longer associated with Ghisi (see *Rejected Works*, nos. 1–4).

The relatively awkward engraving style of this and the following print suggests that they were executed no later than the mid-1550s. The accentuated musculature of the five figures probably derived from the original drawing by Perino, who received much praise from Vasari for his superior anatomical knowledge.³

Notes:

1. Bartsch xv.72.9–23; *Firenze e la Toscana dei Medici nell'Europa del cinquecento: Il primato del disegno*, exhib. cat. (Florence: Palazzo Strozzi, 1980), pp. 250–51.

2. Davidson, *Perino del Vaga*, pp. 44–45, no. 43.

3. Vasari, *Lives* (de Vere), p. 1,325; (Milanesi) v, p. 593.

ANGELA TAU BAILEY



19. *Venus and Vulcan at the Forge*, state i. Paul Prouté S.A., Paris

19 *Venus and Vulcan at the Forge*

After Perino del Vaga
Mid-1550s

Platemark: 190/192 × 310/312 mm.

States:

- i: Before any publisher's address. Giorgio's monogram at lower left, under the hammer. At bottom center: "PIRINVS. IN."

Watermark: no. 44.

- ii: Added at far right in blank area under the kneeling putto: "ANT. LAFRERI".

We have never seen an impression in this state, but assume its existence from the following states.

- iii: Lafreri's name erased, but traces still visible.

Watermarks: nos. 13 and 64.

- iv: Above and to left of Lafreri's erased name, the following address: "*Gio: Jacomo Rossi formis Romae alla Pace*", in italics. The "*Romae*" is under Venus's left foot. Traces of Lafreri's name sometimes faintly visible.

Watermark: no. 25.

Andresen says there is a state with Rossi's address erased. However, an impression in Frankfurt, on eighteenth-century paper with the watermark of Serafini Fabriano, typical of the Calcografia printings, still has Rossi's address.

The plate was in the inventory of the Calcografia Nazionale in 1816, but was destroyed as obscene after May 1823 at the order of Pope Leo XII, according to Massari.

References:

Bartsch 54, Heller-Andresen 16, Massari 191

Ghisi's inscription indicates that he based this engraving on a design by Perino del Vaga, but the composition does not correspond to any extant drawing or painting

by this artist. The popular Renaissance subject of Venus assisting her husband may be interpreted as an allusion to marital duty. Massari suggested that the figures of Venus and the putto on her left are similar to Perino's drawing of *Venus and Cupid*, engraved by Jacopo Caraglio for the *Amore degli dei* series, to which Perino contributed thirteen designs.¹ Other than stylistic affinities, however, between figures attributed to the same artist and translated by the same engraver, this relationship is chiefly thematic.

Note:

1. For the drawing of *Venus and Cupid* (Uffizi, no. 13552), see Davidson, *Perino del Vaga*, pp. 23–24. See also no. 18, note 1.

ANGELA TAU BAILEY



20. *Portrait of François Duaren, state i.* The Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

20 *Portrait of François Duaren*

1556

Platemark: 139/140 × 112/113 mm.

States:

i: At bottom, in a tablet: "FRANCISCVS DVARENVS/IVRECONS./M.D.L.V.I.". Ghisi's monogram, very small, beneath the tablet at bottom center. Background only partially filled in with fine horizontal lines. The image of Duaren, 119 × 92 mm., surrounded by a decorative border 8 mm. wide. An incompletely ruled line appears under Duaren's name. There are five buttons on his coat.

ii: Plate extensively reworked. Background filled in with fine parallel lines. Stippling in the light areas of the collar at left. Duaren's coat now has six buttons.

The few impressions we have seen are all rather weak and poorly printed.

Copy:

By Pierre Woeiriot. Engraving, same size and direction. Robert-Dumesnil VIII.109.282.

Reference:

Bartsch 70

François Duaren (or Douaren; 1509–1559), an expert in civil law, also cultivated belles-lettres and was a connoisseur of antiquity. He studied with Andrea Alciati in Paris, held a chair of law at Bourges in 1538, was in Paris in 1548, then returned to Bourges and established himself there permanently in 1551.¹

This engraving was apparently commissioned by the Lyons publisher Guillaume Rouillé (ca. 1518–1589) for his edition of Duaren's *Opera Omnia*, published in 1558.² It was, however, not printed along with the rest of the book but is found pasted into a space reserved for it on the back of the leaf following the title page.³ Some examples of the book have in the same place not Ghisi's engraving but the copy of it by the Lyons engraver Pierre Woeiriot (ca. 1531–1589), with Woeiriot's monogram in the same place as Ghisi's.⁴

As a publisher and bookseller, Rouillé had many international contacts, particularly in Italy. He had apprenticed with Giovanni Giolito in Venice, and about 1544, shortly after settling in Lyons, he married the daughter of an Italian bookseller there.⁵ How he and Ghisi were in communication, however, is unknown. It may have been that Duaren, finding the small woodcut medallion portrait of himself in Rouillé's 1554 edition (see note 2) inadequate, suggested that Ghisi engrave the portrait; Duaren certainly would have had contacts in Paris, assuming that is where Ghisi was.

An earlier anonymous engraved portrait of Duaren is known, dated 1555 (fig. 44). It shows Duaren in a three-quarters view facing left—with frame, cartouche,



Fig. 44. *Portrait of François Duaren*. Anonymous engraving. Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris

and lettering so similar to Ghisi's that it seems virtually certain Ghisi had seen this engraving.⁶ Ghisi's portrait, however, is clearly not a copy of the anonymous engraving, nor was it even from the same model. This engraving was probably also made for a book, but we do not know which one; the plate apparently was not available to Rouillé.

Ghisi's plate seems to have been unsatisfactory from the beginning, as we have seen no impression of it that is well printed. The rather crude reworking may well not have been done by Ghisi, thus indicating that the engraver, if he had been in Lyons at all, was not there when the reworking was done. The reworking, surely intended to improve the plate, did not really do so, and Rouillé must then have turned to Woeiriot, who was in Lyons, to make a copy of it. The impressions of the portrait from Woeiriot's plate are of better quality than those from Ghisi's.

Notes:

1. *Dictionnaire de biographie française*, 15 vols. (Paris: Librairie Letouzey et Ané, 1967), xi, p. 638.

2. J. Baudrier, *Bibliographie Lyonnaise: Recherches sur les imprimeurs, libraires, relieurs, et fondeurs de lettres de Lyon, au XVI^e siècle*, 12 vols. (Lyons: Louis Brun, 1895-1921), ix, p. 244. According to the *Dictionnaire de biographie française* (see note 1), Duaren's complete works were published in 1550, 1554, 1558, 1570, 1579, and 1581. Rouillé published the 1554 edition, with a woodcut medallion portrait of the author (by Georges Reverdy, according to Baudrier, reproduced on p. 36 of Baudrier); he also published the edition of 1579, without any portrait.

3. It was difficult to print an engraved plate along with type, because for an engraving the design is incised below the surface of the plate, and the paper must be forced into it by the application of great pressure; the printing surface of type, on the other hand, is raised. For this reason, in books of this period, illustrations on the same page with type were usually woodcuts, because in that medium the printing surface is also raised; if engravings were used as illustrations, they were printed separately (see also no. 24).

4. Baudrier, in fact, was unaware that Ghisi had made an earlier plate and mentions only the Woeiriot. He reproduces this (*Bibliographie Lyonnaise*, p. 35), erroneously stating that Woeiriot designed the portrait.

5. *Ibid.*, pp. 17-18.

6. Grateful thanks to Mizué Iwai, who informed us of the existence of this engraving and procured a photograph of it.

21 *Allegory of the Hunt*

After Luca Penni

1556

Platemark: 367 × 255/257 mm.

States:

i: Unfinished and before all letters. The heads of the five dogs in outline only. The large tablet at lower left in outline only and blank. A large cross on the cliff under the tree in the landscape upper right. The bottom margin, which measures ca. 21 mm., is blank.

We have seen only one impression in this state, at the British Museum (C 54).

ii: Finished and with letters, but before any publisher's address. The dogs' heads completed. The cross in the right background incompletely erased and a bush added at its base. Added, on the opposite shore in the distance, two men pulling in a net. On the tablet at lower left: "LVCA/ PENNIS/ .R./ INVEN./ GEORGIUS/ GHISI MANT. FA. / .M.D.L.V.I". In the bottom margin, two distichs: "IN SYLVIS HABITANS AB AMORIS CARCERE LIBER/ CREDIDERAM DEMENS VIVERE POSSE DIV./ SED DEVS ILLE POTENS HOMINĒ CONFŪDERE MENĒ/ HANC VT AMEM NOLENS, VVLT HVMERISQ FERĀ" (Foolishly I had believed that I could live for long in the woods free from the prison of love. But that god who is able to confuse the mind of men wants me to love her, though I do not wish to, and carry her on my shoulders). A ruled borderline, incomplete on right side, circumscribes the image and continues around the bottom margin ca. 2 to 3 mm. inside the platemark. At top, the borderline traverses some of the design, a narrow portion of which extends into the plate margin.

Watermarks: nos. 12 and 38.

iii: Added just under the verses at bottom right: "Romae Claudij Duchetti formis".

iv: Duchetti's address erased and replaced with "Io. Iacobus de Rubeis form. Romae S^c M^a de Pace."

Watermark: no. 22.

The plate is in the Calcografia Nazionale, inventory no. 594.

Copy:

By Gaspar ab Avibus. Engraving, same size, in reverse. On a tablet lower right: "LVCA/ PENNIS/ .R./ INVEN./ NN. exc. GAS [monogram] .F./ .M.D.L.X.III.". Below the verses in right margin: "Ant. Lafrerij Formis". This copy was subsequently published by Paulo Gratiano and Nobilibus, whose addresses appear left and right below the verses.

References:

Mariette, p. 376; Bartsch 43; d'Arco, p. 102, no. 17; Nagler, p. 139; Heller-Andresen 14; LeBlanc 34; Fontainebleau 349; Massari 208

The next prints Ghisi made were based on designs by Luca Penni (about 1500–1557), an Italian artist who was the brother of Gianfrancesco Penni, called "Il Fattore" and one of Raphael's chief assistants. Luca worked in Lucca and Genoa with Perino del Vaga (see nos. 18, 19), who married Penni's sister Caterina. Penni seems to have arrived in France about 1530. He was at Fontainebleau in the late 1530s, but after the death of Rosso in 1540 seems to have suffered from the jealousy of Primaticcio. From about 1547 he lived and worked mostly in Paris, producing paintings of religious, allegorical, mythological, and historical subjects and also portraits. He was called "peintre du roi" in a document of 1553.¹

Dozens of prints were made after his designs, notably by Jean Mignon and Léon Davent (Master LD), both eminent among the school of etchers at Fontainebleau in the 1540s,² and later by Martino Rota, René Boyvin, and perhaps Etienne Delaune,³ as well as Ghisi. According to Vasari, Penni also published prints, and the inventory of his possessions after his death listed the eight copper plates used to print the Seven Capital Sins series, most of which were etched by Léon Davent.⁴

This print shows a young hunter crowned with laurel striding toward the left, carrying a woman who holds a



21. *Allegory of the Hunt*, state ii. Collection of Dr. and Mrs. Goodwin M. Breinin

bow and has a quiver on her back. The earliest mention of what we think is this print is on the list of plates belonging to Lafreri, published in the 1570s. The subject is identified as Adonis Carrying Venus.⁵ This plate never received Lafreri's address, but it did have that of Claudio Duchetti, Lafreri's successor (see Publishers), and we cannot identify any other plate Lafreri owned that could have been described this way. Assuming this is the plate he had, Lafreri may not necessarily have been correct in his identification of its subject.

Mariette calls the figures Orion and Diana, although he adds, "It could also be, as Rossi [see Publishers] says in his catalogue, an allegory representing the lover of the hunt carrying Diana on his shoulders." Bartsch simply calls them Diana and Orion, as do Nagler and LeBlanc, but d'Arco calls the hunter Endymion, and Massari does also, without saying why.⁶

Endymion was a handsome young man cast into a perpetual sleep; he was loved by Diana, the moon goddess, who visited him every night.⁷ Nowhere is it related that Endymion awoke and carried Diana on his shoulders. Orion was said to be a giant who was blinded by Oinopion when he tried to seduce his daughter. Orion was told that the rays of the sun would heal him, so he put the boy Cedalion on his shoulders to guide him toward the east. Later, Orion was killed by Diana.⁸ As Orion was not known to carry a woman on his shoulders, and as the male figure in the engraving does not seem significantly larger than the female, the identification of the two as Orion and Diana is difficult to sustain.

An indication, besides the Rossi catalogue, that in the seventeenth century the woman in Ghisi's print was identified as Diana is the inscription on an etching by Jacques Bellange (active about 1610–20), which resembles Ghisi's print and most probably derives from it.⁹ This inscription mentions only the name of Diana and not that of the male figure. Bellange's print is called *Diana and Orion* by modern scholars, but the title seems to have been ascribed to Bellange's print only because it resembles Ghisi's, and there seems no more reason to call Bellange's figure Orion than to so identify the figure in Ghisi's engraving.

Until the figures can be identified with certainty, it seems preferable to use the indefinite title we have chosen. Another puzzling element of Ghisi's print is the cross that is clearly visible in the proof state (see illustration) and that in fact was imperfectly erased and is still seen in impressions of the print made until the plate came into the hands of Claudio Duchetti. The Christian reference seems totally incongruous in this classical scene, and its inclusion in the unfinished state remains unexplained.

Until recently it has been assumed that Ghisi's four prints after Penni reproduced drawings made specifically to be engraved and that the prints were the earliest form of these compositions extant. In 1982, however, Sylvie Béguin discovered the subject of this print painted in fresco in a château in Burgundy. She has not had time to



21. *Allegory of the Hunt*, state i. The British Museum, London

make a detailed study of the décor, although such a study is envisioned. Unfortunately, the fresco is quite damaged, as are the others in the same room, so it may prove difficult to establish their original significance, and whether details such as the cross were present in the fresco.¹⁰

Notes:

1. Lucile Golson, "Lucca Penni, a Pupil of Raphael at the Court of Fontainebleau," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, ser. 6, 50 (July–August 1957), p. 21; Maurice Roy, "Les trois frères Penni et Francesco di Pellegrino," in *Artistes et monuments de la Renaissance en France* (Paris: Honoré Champion, 1934), pp. 436–43; Paul Vanaise, "Nouvelles précisions concernant la biographie et l'oeuvre de Luca Penni," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, ser. 6, 67 (February 1966), pp. 79–89; Sylvie Béguin, "Un tableau de Luca Penni," *Revue du Louvre*, 5–6 (1975), pp. 359–66.

2. See Zerner.

3. Only three of Delaune's prints bear the name Penni—Robert-Dumesnil tx.28.19, 35.64, and 42.102 (not counting the copy of Ghisi's *Apollo and the Muses on Parnassus*; see no. 23)—and the inscription on each reads "L. PEN. IN." All three, incidentally, are dated 1569. The prints after Luca Penni by Ghisi and by Boyvin, on the other hand, bear Penni's full name, and most have the initial "R," for "Romanus." It therefore seems entirely possible that the three by Delaune were after Luca's son, Laurent, born about 1538–40. A series of six plates by Delaune, *The Story of Apollo and Diana*, have, according to Robert-

Dumesnil (ix.47.133–38), “always passed as the inventions of Luca Penni.” This attribution, however, has been put in doubt by Edith A. Standen in “The Tapestries of Diane de Poitiers,” in *Actes du colloque international sur l’art de Fontainebleau* (Paris: Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1975), p. 94.

4. See also our no. 17 and Vasari *Lives* (de Vere), p. 1,261; (Milanesi) v, p. 434; as well as Vanaise, “Nouvelles précisions,” p. 81, and Zerner LD 85–92.

5. Ehrle, *Roma prima di Sisto V*, p. 57, no. 343.

6. She mentions that two drawings in Rennes showing Diana and Orion, attributed by Golson to Penni (although the attribution is questioned by Standen; see note 3), are to be “put in relation” with this engraving, but does not explain why she nonetheless calls the hunter Endymion. The plate was listed as *Diana and Endymion* in the Calcografia catalogue of 1889: *Catalogo generale dei rami incisi al bulino e all’aqua forte posseduti dalla Regia Calcografia di Roma* (Rome: Forzani, 1889), p. 48, no. 1199. By 1953, the Calcografia listed the title as *Diana and Orion*: Carlo Alberto Petrucci, *Catalogo generale delle stampe tratte dai rami incisi posseduti dalla Calcografia Nazionale* (Rome: Libreria dello Stato, 1953), p. 66, no. 594.

7. Rose, *Greek Mythology*, p. 258; James Hall, *Dictionary of Subjects and Symbols in Art*, rev. ed. (New York: Harper & Row, 1979), p. 103.

8. Rose, *Greek Mythology*, pp. 115–17; Hall, *Subjects and Symbols*, p. 230.

9. Nicole Walch, *Die Radierungen des Jacques Bellange, Chronologie und kritischer Katalog* (Munich: Robert Wölfle, 1971), no. 10. Amy N. Worthen and Sue Welsh Reed, *The Etchings of Jacques Bellange*, exhib. cat. (Des Moines, Iowa: Des Moines Art Center, 1975), nos. 10–13. The inscription reads “Gaudet amans nympa si raptor Agenore nata / Dum sua tergoribus per freta furta vehit / Qua mihi nunc Impleut placidam solatia mentem / Dum mea sic humerus pulchra Diana gravat.” Worthen and Reed translate this as “Just as the loving abductor rejoices in the nymph Europa while he carries her off on his back through the raging sea, so now solace fills my happy mind while beautiful Diana thus burdens my shoulders.” The import of this inscription is thus the opposite of that of the inscription on the Ghisi engraving.

10. Grateful acknowledgment is made to Sylvie Béguin for generously sharing with us her information about this fresco.

22 *Venus and the Rose*

After Luca Penni

1556

Platemark: 306/308 × 212/215 mm.

States:

i: Unfinished and before Ghisi's monogram. Before the school of fish at lower left. The front of Venus's left leg white, and a white area on Cupid's lower right leg. A spiderweb on the small tree projecting from the rock toward right. On a tablet, bottom center: ".L./ PENIS/ .R./ .IN.".

We have seen only one impression of this state, trimmed close, at the Szépművészeti Múzeum, Budapest.

ii: Finished and before any publisher's address. A school of fish added at lower left. Venus's lower left leg and Cupid's lower right leg shaded with horizontal lines. The spiderweb on the tree removed and replaced with thick foliage. Shading lines extend down from the sky to the second branch of the tree. On a small tablet under Cupid's right foot, Ghisi's monogram and the date 1556. An incomplete borderline around the top and sides of the image. In the bottom margin, 12 mm. high, two distychs, surrounded by a double borderline: "Mortiferis spinis toto sum corpore loesa./ Purpurea estq. meo sanguine facta rosa./ Dulcis amor causa est: sed nil mea vulnera curo./ Eripiam crudis dum puerum manibus" (I have been wounded in my whole body by deadly thorns, and the rose has been made purple with my blood. Sweet love is the cause; but I care not for my wounds; I would tear at the boy with merciless hands).

iii: Added on the mound to right of Giorgio's tablet, above "Dulcis amor" of the verse: "In Roma presso Carlo Losi".

iv: Losi's address erased, but traces still visible.

Impressions are very late and worn.

Copies:

1. By Master DWF. Engraving, same size and direction. The monogram is in the small tablet, bottom center.

In the tablet that held Ghisi's name, the date 1558 only. See Bartsch xv, Monogram no. 15.

2. By Gaspar ab Avibus. Engraving, in the same direction, ca. 295 × 200 mm. In the tablet that held Ghisi's name: "Gas/ .P.F./ 1564". In a tablet, bottom center: ".L./ PENIS/ .R./ .IN.". In a diamond in center of bottom margin: "ANT. LAFRERIJ FORMIS.". Another state has "Nicolaus/ Nelli exc" in the diamond, and in the bottom right corner: "Ant. Lafrerij Formis.".

References:

Bartsch 40, Heller-Andresen 11, Fontainebleau 348, Massari 207

According to myth, roses were white until Venus was wounded by one of their thorns; touched by the goddess's blood, they turned from white to red. In some versions of the story, Venus, while bathing, saw Mars chasing her lover Adonis and, running to his aid, scratched her leg or foot on a rose thorn; in other versions, she is wounded as she wanders disconsolate after the death of Adonis (see no. 42).¹

In the Renaissance, the tale of Venus and the rosebush occurs in the *Hypnerotomachia Polifili* by Francesco Colonna, first published in Venice in 1499 by Aldus Manutius.² In Colonna's version, Venus incurs her wound while running to the aid of Adonis, who is being attacked by a jealous Mars.

Venus Wounded by the Thorn of a Rose—without Adonis—was one of eight depictions of Venus painted in 1516 in the Stufetta of Cardinal Bibbiena, after Raphael's designs, by Giulio Romano and Gianfrancesco Penni, one of the brothers of Luca Penni (see previous entry). The painting in the Stufetta might have been known to Luca Penni, and he almost surely would have seen the print made after the image by Marco Dente.³ *Venus Restraining Mars from Attacking Adonis* was painted in the Sala di Psiche of the Palazzo del Te in 1527–28, after designs by Giulio Romano; Gianfrancesco Penni did some work in this room, although apparently not on this fresco.⁴ Ghisi undoubtedly would have seen the fresco, and it is not



22. *Venus and the Rose*, state ii. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Elisha Whittelsey Collection, The Elisha Whittelsey Fund, 1983. 1983.1003.2



22. *Venus and the Rose*, state i (trimmed at bottom).
Szépművészeti Múzeum, Budapest

impossible that Luca Penni also passed through Mantua and visited the Palazzo del Te.

According to Verheyen, the decoration of the Sala di Psiche was based on the *Hypnerotomachia*.⁵ This work also seems to have been Penni's inspiration for the subject, since it seems to be the only version of the story in which Mars is specifically described as beating Adonis, rather than just attacking him.⁶ In the background of Ghisi's print, Mars very clearly holds a raised baton over his head as he pursues Adonis. These two figures, in a similar relation but reversed, appear in the *Hypnerotomachia* (fig. 45). Indeed, the poses of all three main figures—Venus, Mars, and Adonis—although greatly elaborated in Penni's design, seem to derive from this woodcut. The illustration reproduced here is from the French translation, published in Paris in 1546 and reprinted in 1554 (and reprinted again in 1561, testifying to the popularity of the book in France). It seems probable that it was a French edition that Penni was following, for in the French Venus scratches "her thigh" among the rosebushes, whereas in the Italian version it is on the "divine calf" that she is wounded.⁷ In Ghisi's print the wound, from which a drop of blood is issuing, is visible about half-

way up Venus's right thigh, and directly under the drop of blood the first rose is turning red.

As mentioned in the preceding entry, until the discovery of the fresco upon which *Allegory of the Hunt* is based, it was assumed that Penni had created these subjects expressly to be engraved. The image of *Venus and the Rose* is at present not known in any other form, but perhaps a model will yet come to light.

The significance of the spiderweb, present in the first state of the print (see illustration) but not in the finished state, is unclear. There is no mention of a spider or web in the *Hypnerotomachia*, nor in the classical texts of the story. The spider signified industriousness, and the spiderweb was an attribute of Minerva; it also symbolized the sense of touch.⁸ On the other hand, in one emblem book of the period, the spiderweb signified a corrupt judge, the sense being that small creatures get caught in the web but larger ones simply break it.⁹ Its placement, directly over the figure of Mars, is possibly significant as well.

Another version:

Anonymous. Engraving, in reverse, 191 × 144 mm. There are no name tablets and no landscape or buildings between the two figures in the background.

Notes:

1. See Rose, *Greek Mythology*, p. 125, and H. Dollmayr, "Lo stanzino da bagno del cardinale Bibbiena," *Archivio storico dell'arte*, 3 (1890), p. 277.

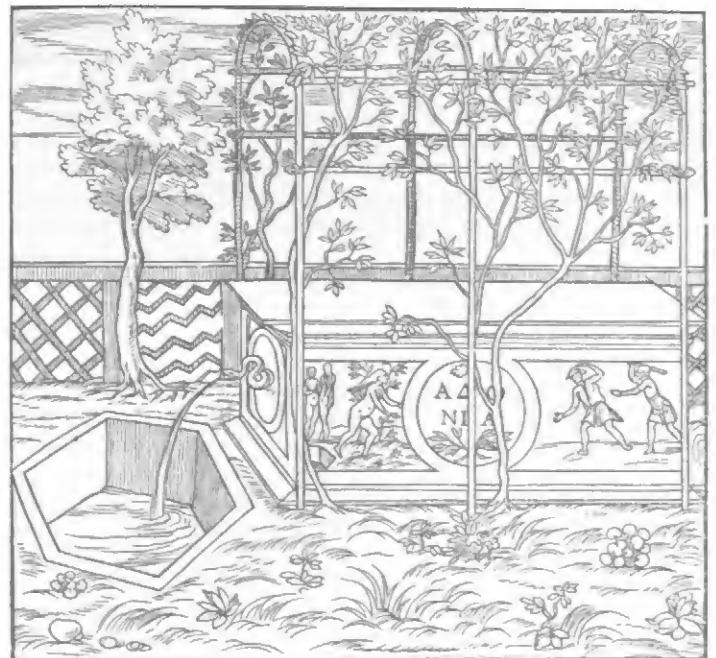


Fig. 45. *The Tomb of Adonis*. Woodcut from *Hypnerotomachie, ou discours du songe de Poliphile* (Paris, 1546). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1926. 26.77

2. According to E. H. Gombrich, "Colonna must have taken this story from a Greek textbook of Rhetoric, Aphthonius' 'Progymnasmata,' where it serves as an example of concise narration." See E. H. Gombrich, *Symbolic Images: Studies in the Art of the Renaissance* (London: Phaidon, 1972), p. 108. In his footnote to the previous statement, however, Gombrich writes, "The book had not been printed at the time of Colonna" (p. 224).
3. Bartsch XIV.241.321. See Shoemaker and Broun, *Engravings of Marcantonio Raimondi*, no. 63.
4. Hartt, *Giulio Romano*, I, pp. 126–27; II, fig. 260. Egon Verheyen, "Die Malereien in der Sala di Psiche des Palazzo del Te," *Jahrbuch der Berliner Museen*, 14 (1972), pp. 33–68; Verheyen, *Palazzo del Te*, pp. 25, 116ff., fig. 42.
5. See note 4.
6. See Walter Friedlaender, "La tintura delle rose (The Sacred and Profane Love) by Titian," *Art Bulletin*, 20 (1938), p. 322. In the Sala di Psiche, it should perhaps be noted, Mars holds a drawn sword, not a baton.
7. Paris edition, 1546, leaf 130; Venice edition, 1499, leaf Zvii recto. Penni's work was clearly not inspired by the Italian edition, in which the three figures are much more static than in the French version.
8. Guy de Tervarent, *Attributs et symboles dans l'art profane 1450–1600, dictionnaire d'un langage perdu*, 2 vols. in 1 (Geneva: E. Droz, 1958–59), I, col. 31.
9. Petrus Costalius, *Pegma, cum narrationibus philosophicus* (Lyons: Mathiam Bonhomme, 1555), p. 43.

23 *Apollo and the Muses*

After Luca Penni

About 1557

Platemark: 333/338 × 420/424 mm.

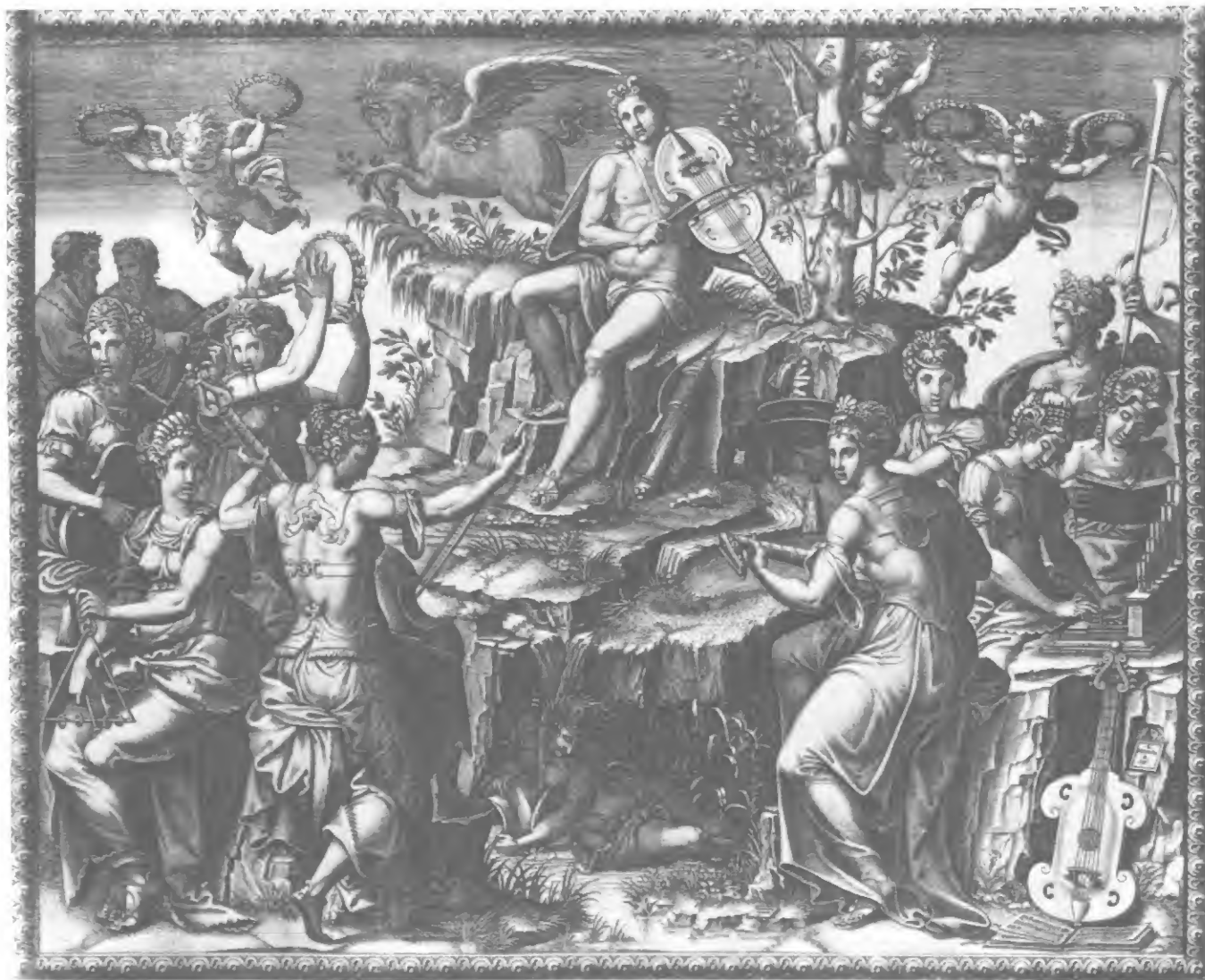
States:

i: Before any publisher's address. On a tablet, bottom toward center: "GEORGIVS/ .MANT./ .F.". On a tablet to right of the neck of the viol at lower right:

" .L./ PENNIS/ .R./ .IN.". The image, 319 × 402 mm., circumscribed by a decorative frame ca. 10 mm. wide.

ii: Added at bottom right, Orlandi's address and the date 1602.

We have not seen this state, but several Ghisi plates



23. *Apollo and the Muses*, state i. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Elisha Whittelsey Collection, The Elisha Whittelsey Fund, 1949. 49.95.11

were published by Orlandi in 1602 (see Publishers), and since in the following state the publisher's name is obviously engraved over an erasure, we infer that the erased address was Orlandi's.

- iii: Orlandi's address erased and replaced by "Ioseph de Rubeis iunioris formis Romae.". The "1602" from Orlandi's address is still there, separated from and lower than the de Rubeis line.

Copies:

1. Anonymous. Engraving, same size and direction, with the same letters. In the original, the head of the putto on the tree is separated from the upper edge of the border by only one engraved line. In the copy, the head of the putto is separated from the upper edge of the border by six engraved lines. In the copy, the "S" of "PENNIS" and the "S" of "GIORGIVS" touch the edge of the tablet. In the original, they do not.
2. By Gaspar ab Avibus. Engraving, same size and direction. Replacing Ghisi's name on the tablet, bottom center: "GASP./ .F.". The tablet at right has the same letters as the original. Toward the bottom left edge: "Ant. Lafrerij Formis". On a second state of this copy, under the seated muse at right: "NN. exc. 1563".
3. By Etienne Delaune. Engraving, 222 × 278 mm. Robert-Dumesnil IX.93.309.

References:

Bartsch 58, Heller-Andresen 17, Fontainebleau 350, Massari 209

Apollo and the Muses, another print by Ghisi based on a composition by Luca Penni, shows Apollo sitting on top of a two-tiered outcropping of rock and playing a *lira da braccio*. The winged horse Pegasus is behind him, and the stream Hippocrene, which has issued from Pegasus's hind hooves, is visible on the first tier of the rock at left center. On the ground below Apollo are nine muses—four at left and five at right—each with a different instrument: from left to right, guitar, triangle, tambourine, viola da gamba, gittern, cymbals, positive organ, and trumpet; the last muse on the right holds, presumably, a vocal score.¹ The muse at the organ can be positively identified as Polymnia; the one with a tambourine may be Erato, and the muse with a trumpet may be Calliope, since they are depicted with these instruments on the well-known late-fifteenth-century series of Tarot cards.² The two bearded figures crowned with laurel at left are probably poets, but they have not been identified.

Directly below Apollo, a woman symbolizing the Castalian spring—which, according to myth, had its source on Mount Parnassus—pours water from an urn into the stream; liquid is also coming from her breasts. The setting thus combines Mount Parnassus with the muses' home, Mount Helicon, the mountain struck by Pegasus to stop it from rising into the air when the muses played a concert.³

Like *The Judgment of Paris* (no. 16), *Apollo and the Muses* was the subject of a well-known engraving by Marcantonio, based on a drawing by Raphael.⁴ Virtually all subsequent artists can be assumed to have seen the Marcantonio print. The subject of Apollo and the muses was also frequently treated in the 1540s and '50s by Penni's contemporaries in France. Primaticcio (see no. 17) used the subject as decoration for the Salle de Bal (1553–56) and the Galerie d'Ulysse at Fontainebleau (1542–59). He also made separate figures of the muses, along with three goddesses, probably for the lower gallery, and three groups of three muses each, for the Galerie d'Ulysse, now known only by Ghisi's engravings of them (nos. 34–37). Nicolo dell'Abate (1509/12–1571?) made a drawing of Apollo and the muses, which was reproduced in a smaller format in an engraving by Etienne Delaune dated 1569.⁵ The rectangular shape, the arrangement of the muses into two groups—with four muses at left and five at right—and the putti with wreaths, all deriving from the Raphael/Marcantonio design, are features of both the Penni composition and Primaticcio's composition for the Galerie d'Ulysse. In the Nicolo dell'Abate composition, as in Penni's, each muse holds a different instrument, whereas in Primaticcio's designs only a few, or none, of the muses have instruments.

Pegasus does not appear in the Raphael/Marcantonio image, but is present in all the other compositions previously mentioned. Since none of the latter can be precisely dated, however, it is impossible to know which artist introduced this element. Pegasus appeared with the muses in Mantegna's *Parnassus*, composed for the Studiolo of Isabella d'Este at Mantua in 1497, now in the Louvre, which Primaticcio would certainly have known. As "la bonne Renommée," Pegasus was also featured in Henry II's royal entries into Troyes and Rouen, in 1548 and 1550.⁶

No drawing for this composition is known. Golson dates Penni's work to about the same time as his series of Capital Sins, which, according to Zerner, was etched by Davent about 1547.⁷ Ghisi's engraving of Penni's composition was tremendously popular in the sixteenth century, and it was used as a model by artists in other media more than any other of Ghisi's prints. In addition to the three engraved copies (see *Copies*, above), the composition is known to have been used to decorate enamelware, armor, and musical instruments. It was also copied, both with and without modifications, in several paintings.⁸ Perhaps the wide use of this print accounts for the fact that it is difficult to find a fine impression of it in good condition.

Notes:

1. Grateful acknowledgment is made to Laurence Libin of the Metropolitan Museum for identification of the instruments.
2. Arthur M. Hind, *Early Italian Engraving*, 7 vols. (London: Bernard Quaritch, 1938–48), I, pp. 235–36. Philippe Verdier, “Limoges Painted Enamels,” in *The Frick Collection: An Illustrated Catalogue*, vol. VIII (New York: The Frick Collection, 1977), p. 163, identifies the muses as, left to right: Urania, Thalia, Erato, Euterpe, Terpsichore, Clio, Polymnia, Calliope, and Melpomene. Verdier cites Tervarent, *Attributs et symboles*, II, cols. 279–81. Tervarent, however, lists several instruments for each muse, referring to the Tarot cards and various decorative schemes, including a series of muses by Primaticcio for Fontainebleau (see text, above), and these do not correspond neatly. No classical or Renaissance text to our knowledge assigns a definite instrument to each muse; the *Nomina Musarum*, a Latin poem, thought in the Renaissance to have been written by Virgil, associates Euterpe with the flute, Terpsichore with the lyre, and Erato with the plectrum (see Loeb Classical Library, *Ausonius*, app. III, p. 281).
3. Antoninus Liberalis, *Metamorphoses* 9; see Rose, *Greek Mythology*, p. 180, note 34, and Verdier, “Limoges Painted Enamels,” p. 164.
4. Bartsch XIV.200.247; Delaborde, *Marc-Antoine Raimondi*, no. 110.
5. Both the Primaticcio composition for the Salle de Bal, as painted by Nicolo dell’Abate, and the Nicolo drawing are reproduced in Sylvie Béguin, *Mostra di Nicolo dell’Abate*, exhib. cat. (Bologna: Palazzo dell’Archiginnasio, 1969), pl. 21 and no. 58. The Delaune engraving is Robert-Dumesnil IX.41.100. The composition in the Galerie d’Ulysse was painted in the central bay of the ceiling; the only record of it now extant is an engraving by Antoine Garnier (Robert-Dumesnil VIII.217.57; Fontainebleau 343; reproduced in *Fontainebleau, l’art en France 1528–1610* [*Art in France 1528–1610*], 2 vols. Exhib. cat. [Ottawa: The National Gallery of Canada, 1973], I). Drawings for seven of the separate muses are in the Louvre, and they were etched by Léon Davent (Bartsch XVI.315.16–317.27; Zerner LD 25–36). Fantuzzi also etched a composition that has been called *The Muses at the Foot of Parnassus* (Bartsch XVI.344.18; Zerner AF 20; Fontainebleau 307), but which is problematic in that it includes ten, not nine, women, a nude man who is not Apollo, and two nude children.
6. Margaret M. McGowan, ed., *L’Entrée de Henri II à Rouen 1550* (Amsterdam: Theatrum Orbis Terrarum. Reprint, New York: Johnson, 1970), pp. 26–27.
7. Golson, “Lucca Penni,” p. 31; Zerner LD 85–92; Fontainebleau 391.
8. Verdier, “Limoges Painted Enamels,” p. 166, lists seven pieces of Limoges enamel, besides the Frick dish, as well as several other objects upon which the subject appears (p. 167, note 3). A shield bearing this image is reproduced in *Burlington Magazine*, 31 (1917), p. 39. A. P. de Mirimonde, “Les concerts des muses chez les maîtres du nord,” *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, ser. 6, 63 (1964), p. 135, illustrates a painting in Aix-en-Provence, and in “A propos du ‘Duel musical des muses et des Piérides’ attribué au Rosso,” *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, ser. 6, 80 (1973), p. 147, a painting in a private collection.



24. *Hercules Victorious Over the Hydra*. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1938. 38.27 (frontispiece)

24 *Hercules Victorious Over the Hydra*

After Giovanni Battista Bertani
1558 or before

Platemark: 347/350 × 209/211 mm. At lower right, the plate extends ca. 6 mm. to follow the outline of the Hydra's claws.

State:

Only state. On a diamond-shaped tablet below Hercules' right hand: "I. / .B.B. / .IN. / .V.". In the corresponding position on the right side: "D / EOR / GIVS / GHISI / MANT⁹ / VAN / F.". A light borderline all around, just inside the platemark. The Gonzaga coat of arms at top center, over Hercules' head.

Watermarks: nos. 50 and 64 or 65. In text of book, no. 1.

The plate is in the Calcografia Nazionale, inventory no. 475.

References:

Bartsch 44, Heller-Andresen 15, Massari 212

Ghisi made this print after a design by Giovanni Battista Bertani, and it was used as a frontispiece for Bertani's commentary, *Gli oscuri e difficili passi dell'opera ionica di Vitruvio*. The book was written in 1556 and published in 1558 by Venturino Ruffinello in Mantua. The engraving was not printed along with the rest of the book but is found on a separate leaf, of different paper, bound in separately or cut out and pasted onto a blank leaf.¹

As the title suggests, Bertani translates and explains passages Vitruvius had written on the Ionic order that Bertani and his contemporaries considered obscure. Bertani claims to have clarified and rectified the misinterpretations of commentators in his own and preceding generations. It is in the text of this book that Bertani mentions having been with Ghisi in Rome during the papacy of Paul III (1534–49) (see Introduction).²

The book is dedicated to Cardinal Ercole Gonzaga (1505–1563), who became bishop of Mantua in 1521 and cardinal in 1527, and who presided over the Council of Trent from 1561 to 1563. He was also regent of the duchy of Mantua from 1540 to 1556, after the death

of his brother Federico II and during the minority of his nephews Francesco III (1533–1550) and Guglielmo (1538–1587).

The figure of Hercules in this print obviously alludes to Cardinal Ercole. ("Ercole" is the Italian form of the Latin "Hercules.") In the rich border above the head of Hercules are the Gonzaga arms from 1433 to 1573,³ with a cross and cardinal's hat above, all in a cartouche with a sort of baldachin above. In ovals in the corners are depic-



Fig. 46. *Hercules Victorious Over the Hydra*. Drawing by Giovanni Battista Bertani. Museum of Art, Rhode Island School of Design

tions of four virtues, Justice and Charity above and Temperance and Fortitude (whose attribute, a column, is perceptible behind the foot of the Hydra) below. Six winged female figures are writing on medallions. Piles of books, groups of musical instruments, and two armillary spheres also appear in the border, as does, most noticeably, in the upper right, a draped, bearded figure who appears to be dropping some substance from a box onto a fire upon an altar. He is performing this action with his left hand; since the winged figures are all writing with the right hand, the use of the left hand by the bearded figure is not due to a reversal in the engraving process. An alchemical reference is surely intended: Hercules was considered representative of the alchemist by virtue of his overcoming so many difficulties, and the choice of the slaying of the Hydra among all the possible labors of Hercules may well have been because the slaying of dragons or similar monsters was used in the alchemical literature to symbolize the overcoming of various difficulties in the process.⁴ Seven, the number of the heads of the Hydra, was also an important symbol to the alchemists.⁵ Sheard suggested another reason why a portrayal of this particular labor of Hercules was appropriate as the frontispiece for Bertani's book: the previous commentators on Vitruvius's text, whom Bertani "vanquished" with his own interpretation—Fra Giocondo, Dürer, Alberti, Cesariano, Serlio, Guglielmo Filandro, and Daniele Barbaro—also number seven.⁶

A drawing showing much of the composition (fig. 46) is in the collection of the Rhode Island School of Design.⁷ Presumed by Perina⁸ and Olson to be by Bertani, it is very close to the scale of Ghisi's engraving, although it obviously is not the final drawing from which he worked. The verso shows the Hercules figure at a less developed stage, a helmeted head, several cartouches, a bass viol, and some lines of handwriting. The handwriting, by comparison with Bertani's letters in the Mantuan archives, seems not to be his, but that does not prove that the drawing itself is not by Bertani.

Bertani's figure of Hercules, as Olson pointed out, shows a stance identical to that of a figure—perhaps meant to be the statue of an emperor—in a stucco relief on a fireplace in Giulio Romano's house in Mantua, which Bertani would have known,⁹ and the depiction of the Hydra, as Pouncey and Gere pointed out, derives from a drawing by Giulio Romano.¹⁰ The head of Hercules may well have been inspired by the heads on the sarcophagus of Hercules in the Palazzo Ducale, which also would have been known to Bertani.¹¹

Notes:

1. The copy in the Metropolitan Museum has the separate leaf bound in between Ai, which is blank, and Aii, on the recto of which is the title page. According to Ruth Mortimer, *Harvard College Library Department of Printing and Graphic Arts, Catalogue of Books and Manuscripts, Part II: Italian 16th Century Books*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard

University Press, Belknap Press, 1974) II, pp. 766–68, no. 548, Cicognara describes a copy with the engraving on a separate leaf preceding signature A, and Harvard's copy has the engraving pasted onto the blank leaf Ai.

2. Bertani, *Gli oscuri e difficili*, leaf Ev recto.

3. For the Gonzaga arms, see Leonardo Mazzoldi et al., *Mantova: La storia*, 3 vols. (Mantua: Istituto Carlo d'Arco per la storia di Mantova, 1958–63), II, pl. 39 (opp. p. 300).

4. Maurizio Fagiolo dell'Arco, *Il Parmigianino, un saggio sull'ermetismo nel cinquecento* (Rome: Mario Bulzone, 1970), pp. 24, 68; J. van Lennep, *Art et alchimie: Etude de l'iconographie hermétique et ses influences* (Brussels: Editions Meddens, 1966), pp. 30, 49.

5. Lennep, *Art et alchimie*, p. 26.

6. Wendy Stedman Sheard, *Antiquity in the Renaissance*, exhib. cat. (Northampton, Mass.: Smith College Museum of Art, 1978), no. 98; Bertani, *Gli oscuri e difficili*, leaf Civ recto.

7. Inventory no. 65.078; pen and brown ink, 345 × 201 mm.; see R[oberta] J. M. O[lson] in Deborah J. Johnson, *Old Master Drawings from the Museum of Art, Rhode Island School of Design* (Providence: Rhode Island School of Design, 1983), no. 3.

8. Perina, "Bertanus Invenit," p. 24.

9. Olson, in Johnson, *Old Master Drawings*, no. 13; Hartt, *Giulio Romano*, I, p. 240; II, fig. 495.

10. Pouncey and Gere, *Italian Drawings*, I, p. 66, no. 87; II, pl. 80.

11. See Alda Levi, "Rilievi di sarcofagi del Palazzo Ducale di Mantova," *Dedalo*, 7 (1926–27), pp. 218–20.

25 *The Three Fates*

After Giulio Romano

1558

Platemark: 139/140 × 221/225 mm.

States:

i: Before the privilege and the change in date. Before additional shading on the Fates at left and center. There is a white highlight on the wrist of the Fate at center. On a tablet under the bench at left: "GEOR. MANT. / .F. / MDLVIII". On a larger tablet, right, under Atropos's chair: "IV. RO. IN. / SCULPTA / IN PALATIO / THE". A light borderline, almost all around, just inside the platemark.

ii: Before the names of the Fates. The date on the tablet at left changed from "MDLVIII" to "MDLVIII".

Added beneath the left foot of the Fate at left and Atropos's right foot: "CVM PRIVILEGIO REGIS". With additional shading: diagonal lines now cross almost all parallel lines on the left forearm of the Fate at left, and parallel lines added, following the contour of her crossed right leg. The highlight on the wrist of the Fate at center now almost covered with small lines and dots.

iii: Before any publisher's address. The names of the three Fates added: "LACHESIS", engraved vertically on the end of the bench at left; "CLOTHO", to the right of the top of the head of the Fate at center; "ATROPOS", vertically near the right edge of the plate. The borderline is barely visible.



25. *The Three Fates*, state ii. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Joseph Pulitzer Bequest, 1917. 17.50.16—125

iv: Added in blank area, lower right, beneath Atropos: "I. Honeruogt exc."

We have seen only one impression in this state, a good but somewhat worn impression, at the Teylers Museum, Haarlem.

v: Added on the floor, lower right, under Atropos: "I. Cranthome ex."

vi: Cranthome's address erased. The lines between his name and the bottom of the chair leg also erased.

We have seen only one impression in this state, very light and worn, in Frankfurt.

Copy:

Anonymous. Engraving, in reverse, 145 × 225 mm. With the tablets, but there are no letters on them. Massari 240.

Reference:

Bartsch 47

As the inscription indicates, this print reproduces the subject of a stucco bas-relief designed by Giulio Romano, in the Palazzo del Te in Mantua (fig. 47). It is the central scene of the ceiling of the Sala degli Stucchi and, as Verheyen says, is probably the key to the iconography of the ceiling, which still awaits elucidation.¹ Ghisi's *Hercules Resting from His Labors* (no. 41) is also modeled after one of the principal *stucchi* in this room.

The Three Fates, represented from Homer onward as women spinning and from Hesiod as three in number, are Clotho (the Spinner), Lachesis (the Apportioner), and Atropos (the Inflexible).² In the third state, the names of the Fates are added—from left to right: Lachesis, Clotho, and Atropos. Lachesis and Clotho, however, seem to be misnamed, since the one on the left is spinning and would more likely be Clotho.

The drawing by Giulio Romano from which Ghisi presumably worked was made some thirty years before Ghisi engraved this print. The drawing apparently found its way to France, as the plate was almost certainly made there. The drawing for the other stucco in this room that Ghisi engraved, *Hercules Resting from His Labors* (no. 41), is now in a French public collection. The royal privilege, added in the second state, is surely French (see Royal Privilege), and the first publisher to put his address on the plate is the Parisian Jacques Honervogt, who also published nos. 26 and 27 (see Publishers). Bartsch was in error when he said that the state with the privilege was dated 1558. It seems clear from this print and nos. 26 and 27 that Ghisi was granted the French royal privi-

lege for the years 1559 and 1560. In the case of this print and *Allegory of Birth* (no. 26) there were early impressions with an earlier date, and in both cases the date was changed when the privilege was added. The date of *The Calumny of Apelles* (no. 27) may also have been changed.

Another version:

By Cornelis Cort. Engraving, in reverse, 239 × 260 mm. With "IVLIVS MANTVA INVE/ H. COCK EXCUDE 1561". A line of text beneath ("Clotho colum . . . Atropos occat"). Bierens de Haan 185.³

Notes:

1. Verheyen, *Palazzo del Te*, pp. 123–26.

2. Rose, *Greek Mythology*, p. 24.

3. J. C. J. Bierens de Haan, *L'Oeuvre gravé de Cornelis Cort, graveur hollandais 1533–1578* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1948).



Fig. 47. *The Three Fates*. Stucco after a design by Giulio Romano, Sala degli Stucchi, Palazzo del Te, Mantua. Photo: Calzolari, Mantua

26 Allegory of Birth

After Giulio Romano

1558

Platemark: 278/280 × 426/428 mm.

States:

- i: Before the privilege and the change of date. Before the small tablet, bottom left. Before the clump of grass, and before additional shading. On a tablet near the right edge, to the right of the head of the cradle: "IN. IVL.RO./ PICTA IN/ PALATIO/ THE/ .D./ DVC. MANT./ GEORGIVS/ GHISI MANT/ .F. 1558." Below this, on a large tablet in lower right corner: "QVO GENIO EXCEPTVM TE MATER/ MEMNONIS AFFLET. QVASQ FACES TIBI VITA ACCENDAT./ AD OMNIA REFERT."

(It is important in all respects with what spirit the mother of Memnon breathes upon you when you are received and what torches life lights for you). A light borderline all around, except at lower left side and bottom left, 275 × 420 mm.

We have seen only two impressions in this state, in the Malaspina Collection in Pavia and at the Victoria and Albert Museum (GG.20, 12543).

- ii: Before any publisher's address. The date has been changed to 1560. On a small tablet added at bottom left: "CŪ PREVILLE/ GIO REGIS". A clump of grass added



26. *Allegory of Birth*, state i. Victoria and Albert Museum, London

behind new tablet. The scarf and right sleeve of the midwife and the bedclothes on the far side of the cradle now shaded with parallel lines. The lines of the floor extended down almost to the bottom of the tablet at lower right.

Watermarks: nos. 27 and 39 or 40.

iii: Added near the bottom edge, in the blank area below and slightly to the right of the woman holding the baby: "Iac. Honeruogt excudit".

iv: Honervogt's address erased. At bottom, under the left foot of the woman holding the baby: "*Jollain Excudit rue St. Jacques a la ville de cologne*", in large italics.

We have seen only one impression in this state, a rather late and worn one at the Pinacoteca Ambrosiana, Milan.

Watermark: no. 10.

v: Jollain's address erased, and the bottom left corner of the "QVO GENIO" tablet also erased.

Impressions are very late and pale. Some are on eighteenth-century paper.

References:

Mariette, p. 373; Bartsch 57; Malaspina, p. 164; d'Arco 7, 8; Massari 213

Allegory of Birth, like the preceding print, was based on a drawing made by Giulio Romano for a fresco in the Palazzo del Te in Mantua (fig. 48). The print reproduces one of a series of eleven scenes in the Loggia of the Grotto, painted about 1531, that seem to present an allegory of human life, of which *Allegory of Sickness* (no. 1) was engraved by Giorgio some two decades earlier.¹ A comparison of the two prints reveals Ghisi's development from the competent but somewhat haphazard style of his early works to the powerful mastery evident in his maturity.

The scene shows, at the right, a woman who has just given birth. Two female attendants minister to her from the far side of her bed, the older woman holding her wrist. The mother seems to be dying or dead. In the center, a woman wearing a tower-shaped crown—with a female statue affixed to the front—hands the newborn to two genii. At the left, a woman holding two torches, signifying life, appears to be fueling the one in her right





Fig. 48. *Allegory of Birth*. Fresco after a design by Giulio Romano, Loggia of the Grotto, Palazzo del Te, Mantua.
Photo: Frick Art Reference Library

hand by blowing on it, perhaps having just lit it from the other. The other torch may represent the life of the mother. Bartsch, following Mariette, calls this figure a Fate, although Fates are usually shown spinning (see the preceding entry). Verheyen calls her a midwife, which seems less likely. She may simply be an allegorical symbol of life.² The scene takes place at dawn; Aurora, silhouetted against the light of the rising sun, drives her quadriga over the horizon at upper left.

Several elements in the print differ from the scene painted in the Palazzo del Te. In the fresco, the central female figure has many breasts, clearly identifying her as the earth-goddess Cybele, symbolizing fruitfulness; her tower crown has no statue. One of the genii in the fresco is dark skinned and wild looking—perhaps representing vice or evil—whereas in the print the genii are similar in appearance. Without Giulio's drawing for comparison, it is impossible to determine whether Ghisi's print differs from it as well as from the fresco. If the drawing was similar to the fresco, then the changes in the print would have been introduced by Giorgio or someone with or for whom he was working. In view of the production, during 1558 and 1559, of three prints—this one, *The Three Fates* (no. 25), and *The Calumny of Apelles* (no. 27)—that are allegorical in theme and may have borne contemporary allusions that have not, as yet, been deciphered, it seems plausible that the changes in the print may have been made by Ghisi or someone in his circle. In this regard, it may also be significant that the dates of all three prints were changed after Ghisi secured the royal privilege (see Royal Privilege). At any rate, the addition of the foliage and landscape between the foreground figures was certainly Ghisi's invention.

Ever since the publication of Bartsch's catalogue early in the nineteenth century this print has been thought to show the birth of Memnon. Bartsch identified it as such probably because of the Latin inscription mentioning "mater Memnonis," the mother of Memnon. The inscription, however, simply makes an astrological allusion to the importance of the moment of birth, in which the mother of Memnon, that is, Eos, or Aurora (Dawn), is cited. It seems clear that Aurora is not the woman on the bed, as Bartsch inferred, but rather is driving the chariot at the left.³ For these reasons, we have chosen to call this print simply *Allegory of Birth*.

Notes:

1. Verheyen, *Palazzo del Te*, pp. 33–34.
2. It is possible that this figure and the two attendants by the bed were intended by Giulio to symbolize the Fates; the three, especially the old woman, do bear a resemblance to the Fates as depicted in the preceding entry, which is also based on a drawing by Giulio.
3. Furthermore, Aurora did not die in childbirth, as the woman on the bed appears to have done, but lived to see Memnon killed by Achilles in the Trojan War. Mariette, from whom Bartsch took a great deal of information, did not relate the subject to the birth of Memnon, but called this print "a woman crowned with towers representing the City of Mantua handing to two genii a newborn Gonzaga prince. . . ." D'Arco, obviously compiling his list from various sources, includes both an "Allegory on the Birth of a Gonzaga Prince" and a "Birth of Memnon," giving the proper dimensions of the print for both. Verheyen, assuming that the birth of Memnon is the correct identification of this subject, then is led to see a possible scene from the life of Memnon in another one of the series (*Palazzo del Te*, p. 129, no. 6). It does seem clear, however, that the error was Bartsch's and that Memnon has nothing to do with the series in the Loggia of the Grotto, nor with this print.



27. *The Calumny of Apelles, state iii.* The Saint Louis Art Museum, Friends Fund

27 *The Calumny of Apelles*

After Luca Penni

1560

Platemark: 367/370 × 317/322 mm.

States:

i: Unfinished and before letters. Several areas drawn in with pen, e.g. the child (except for its hair), the torch, the front of the canopy over the throne, the feet of the figure of Innocence at right of the throne, the right arm and hand of the judge. A light ruled borderline all around, 328 × 317 mm.

We have seen only one proof in this state, at The Metropolitan Museum of Art, formerly in the collection of Sir Peter Lely. It is trimmed inside the platemark, to 328 × 317 mm.

ii: Before letters, and before additional work. The penned-in areas now finished.

This state is rare, but we have seen three impressions, at the Albertina (It.I.30), the Bibliothèque Nationale (Eb.14.a), and the British Museum.

iii: Finished and with letters. A step added at base, extending the lower borderline by 37 mm. Diagonal lines on the floor end ca. 10 mm. from the edge of the floor. The upper right shoulder and chest of the judge now shaded with diagonal lines. On a small oval on the side of the throne: "GEOR/ GIVS/ GHISI/ MANT/ .F. 1560". On the new step at base are three tablets with letters. Left: "CVM PRIVILE/ GIO REGIS". Center: "ATTRAHIT INSONTĒ PERIVRA CALVMNIA APELLĒ/IN IVS IMMISCENS FANDA NEFANDA SIMVL/ AVRICVLIS IVDEX INSIGNIS TĒPORA ASELLI/ IVS PARITER REDDIT COCLITE CŪ COMITE/ TEMPORIS AT DEMŪ QVAE FERTVR FILIA; SEROS/ IN LVCEM PROFERT QVI LATVERE DOLOS" (Although Apelles is innocent, Calumny drags the case into court, mixing the truth with lies. Auriculus, the judge with the ears of an ass, presides, while a woman wearing a blindfold stands mutely by. Then a maiden comes forward to reveal the longstanding deceptions). Right: "LVCA/ PENIS/ .IN.". The borderline now measures 362 × 317 mm.

Most impressions we have seen are fine and dark. This is the first published state.

Watermarks: nos. 27 and 39.

iv: Added on the step to left of the large center tablet: "I. Honeruogt exc.", between two ruled lines.

v: Honervogt's address erased and replaced by "*Jollain excudit rue St Iaquesalavillede coloigne*", scratched in rather crude italics, extending left under the small tablet and into the edge of the large center tablet.

vi: Jollain's address and the lower left of the tablet now erased.

Reference:

Bartsch 64

In an essay on the theme of calumny, Lucian described a painting by the ancient Greek artist Apelles, composed after the artist himself had nearly been put to death because of a calumny brought on by an envious fellow artist.¹ The essay describes a man with very large ears sitting at the right, flanked by two female figures, Ignorance and Suspicion. The man extends a hand to Calumny, a beautiful woman, "but in her countenance and action expressing heat, anger and rooted malice,"² who holds a burning torch in her left hand. She approaches, dragging by the hair a young man, who lifts his hands to heaven, protesting his innocence. Envy, "an ugly, pale-faced hollow-eyed man," assists Calumny, who is also attended by Treachery and Deceit. Repentance follows at a distance, in mourning, tears in her eyes, casting a shameful glance at Truth.

Many Renaissance artists—Botticelli, Mantegna, and Raphael, for example—depicted the theme of the calumny of Apelles, and in France, close to the time of Penni's design, Primaticcio, Nicolo dell'Abate, and Antoine Caron all drew compositions on this subject.³ Penni's design, in most respects, adheres to the scene described by Lucian, although the man with large ears is now enthroned. Penni gives Deceit a huge net and also adds the statue of Hercules in a niche, neither of which appears in other depictions. Penni also apparently made a notable addition to the iconography of the subject; he seems to have been the first to have depicted Truth as the

daughter of Time in *The Calumny of Apelles*. This element then, according to Cast, “became a standard motif in other compositions.”⁴ The two figures—Truth, with her face contorted because of the violence being done to her in the principal scene, and Time, presenting her, as it were—are visible in a cloud in the left background. The idea is a hopeful one, implying that the truth will become known and the unjustly accused will be vindicated.

According to Cast’s study, the subject of the calumny of Apelles was resonant with meaning for Renaissance artists, both because of the intrinsic moral elements of the story and because “the details of this allegory were introduced into the debates about the value of art and the individual worth of individual artists.”⁵ Cast further theorizes that all the images of *The Calumny of Apelles* made in France during the sixteenth century can be read specifically as anti-court and -courtier, and anti-Italian, allegories.⁶ His argument, however, is not supported by specific evidence and is not entirely persuasive, since, among other factors, most of the artists in question—Primaticcio, Nicolo dell’Abate, and Penni (and, of course, Giorgio Ghisi)—were themselves Italian. Furthermore, Ghisi’s print bears the royal privilege (see Royal Privilege), so it could not have been obvious to

everyone that the subject was a criticism of the royal court. On the other hand, if Primaticcio, Nicolo, and Caron at Fontainebleau, and Penni in Paris, all of whom knew each other, made drawings of this subject in the 1550s, there could have been a specific reason for it. If there was, however, it has not yet been discovered.

No drawing or painting corresponding to *The Calumny* is now known. A painting acquired by the Louvre in 1973, depicting a scene of judgment and called *The Judgment of Otto* (fig. 49), although its exact subject remains to be explained, is attributed to Penni because of its affinities in style and subject to *The Calumny*.⁷ Since *The Judgment of Otto* turned up only a decade ago and the fresco of the *Allegory of the Hunt* (no. 21) even more recently, it seems entirely possible that a drawing or painting by Penni of *The Calumny of Apelles* may yet come to light.

Béguin proposed that *The Calumny* and *The Judgment of Otto* could have been pendants, or part of a series made for a purpose unknown today.⁸ Another scene of judgment, known only in an engraving by Hendrik Goltzius (fig. 50),⁹ which to our knowledge has never before been connected with Luca Penni, also seems related to *The Calumny* and *The Judgment of Otto*. Because of



27. *The Calumny of Apelles*, state i (trimmed at bottom). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Joseph Pulitzer Bequest, 1917. 17.50.16–120



Fig. 49. *The Judgment of Otto*. Oil painting attributed to Luca Penni. Louvre, Paris. Photo: Réunion des Musées Nationaux



Fig. 50. *The Judgment of Solomon*. Engraving after a design attributed to Luca Penni, by Hendrik Goltzius. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1953. 53.601.336 (6)

the affinities of style and subject, it seems certain that Penni made these three compositions as a series or part of a series on judgment.

The proof state at The Metropolitan Museum of Art has a good deal of work in pen, surely by Giorgio's hand, in the unfinished areas (see illustration and fig. 16), providing fascinating evidence of the engraver's method.

Notes:

1. The essay "Slander" can be found in Lucian, Loeb Classical Library, trans. A. M. Harmon (New York: Macmillan, 1913), 1, pp. 359–93.
2. The specific translations of this and other phrases are from David Cast, *The Calumny of Apelles: A Study in the Humanist Tradition* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1981), p. 4.
3. Ibid., pp. 82–83.
4. Ibid., p. 84. For discussion of the motif, see pp. 83–88. Cast, however, is mistaken when he writes (p. 82, note 32) that in an emblem in Costalius's *Pegma*, p. 325, Father Time is in a tent with Truth in front of him. The figure in the tent is clearly Ignorance, with ass's ears; Truth would be the standing figure in the background above, with Repentance on her knees before her. Truth is also depicted with Time in a drawing of *The Calumny of Apelles* by Antoine Caron. It is possible, though we doubt it, that Caron's drawing preceded Penni's. Caron's drawing may have been made about 1560, which would have been three years after Penni's death.

5. Ibid., p. 1.
6. Ibid., pp. 80–84.
7. Béguin, "Un tableau de Luca Penni," pp. 359–66.
8. Ibid., p. 362.
9. Hollstein (Dutch and Flemish) viii. 19.76; Strauss, *Hendrik Goltzius*, no. 66.

28 *Allegory of Life*

1561

Platemark: 379/383 × 542/546 mm.

States:

i: Unfinished and before any letters. The entire upper left portion of the print mostly blank, with the figure of the man and one or two others indicated in light outlines. A blank area has been reserved for the tablet that will appear in state ii at the foot of the rock against which the man leans. No blank areas have been reserved for the other three tablets that appear in state ii.

We know of only one impression in this state, at the British Museum (C 63, Cracherode Collection).

ii: Finished. Before any publisher's address. On a tablet, bottom left: "RAPHAELIS VRBINATIS INVENTVM. / PHILIPPVS DATVS ANIMI GRATIA/ FIERI IVSSIT." (Raphael of Urbino invented it. Philippus Datus commissioned it for the good of his soul). On a tablet at center, near the man's feet: "SEDET AETERNVM/ QVE SEDEBIT IFOELIX" (The unhappy one sits and will sit forever) (*Aeneid*, VI.617). On a small tablet in the boat: "GIORGIVS/ GHISI MAT/ .F. 1.5.6.1.". On a tablet,



28. *Allegory of Life*, state ii. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1953. 53.600.594

bottom right, below the foot of the female figure: "TV NE CEDE MALIS: SED/ CÔTRA AVVENTIOR ITO" (Do not yield to adversities, but go out to meet them bravely) (*Aeneid*, vi.95). A coat of arms has been added, covering the side of the building just behind the foremost one in the background.

Impressions are fine and dark to brilliant.

- iiib: The upper left corner of the print is blank, because the plate has broken.

We know of only one impression in this state, at the Bibliothèque Nationale (AA4 réserve).

- iii: The broken corner repaired and filled in with dry-point. The moon now mostly obscured. Added in the lower left corner, a new tablet with "Jean de Gourmont, excudit."

We know of only three impressions in this state, at the Baltimore Museum; the Gabinetto delle Stampe, Rome; and the Muzeum Narodowe, Warsaw.

- iva: De Gourmont's address erased and replaced by "Harman Adolffz excud Harlem", scratched into the plate.

- ivb: Adolffsz's address worn and hard to read, especially at the center.

Impressions show wear.

- v: Adolffsz's address still faintly visible. Added across the top of the stern of the boat: "Ioan. Meysens excud."

- vi: Meysens's address erased and replaced by "Ioan Galle excud.". A large plaque added, at the bottom, with the inscription: "In loco horroris et vastae solitudinis constituitur homo, dum nascitur: intentant omnia mortem, mare, terra, aer, ignis: inter tot monstra is tutus ingreditur, qui Deo nititur: inimicorum circumdatur anguinibus, et hostium plena sunt omnia, sed sperantem in Domino misericordia circumdabit, eripiet et glorificabit eum."¹ (In a place of horror and desolate solitude, man is created, then born; sea, earth, air, and fire all threaten death; he who relies upon God goes protected among so many monstrosities; he is surrounded by serpentine, hostile forces, and enemies are everywhere, but hope in God's mercy will encompass, deliver, and glorify him). The plaque in front of the male figure removed and lines added to make the area part of the rock. The tablet below the female figure also erased, leaving parts of letters visible. A heavy new borderline.

Impressions are very late and light.

References:

Mariette, p. 372; Bartsch 67; d'Arco, p. 107, no. 35; Heller-Andresen 21; Massari 214

In the four centuries since it was created, this compelling and enigmatic image has, of all Ghisi's prints, provoked the most interest. It has been discussed in numerous commentaries, and yet no completely satisfactory explanation of its content has yet been offered.²

The complexity of the image dictates a thorough enumeration of its contents. A bearded old man leans on a rock against which is the knotted trunk of a dead tree, with many of its roots exposed. He stands at the edge of a turbulent, rocky stretch of river in which a boat has foundered. A bat, two owls, and a crow are above him; ferocious beasts, serpents, and monsters on land and in the water surround him, mostly looking toward him with mouths open—even the human skeleton whose right eye is being pecked by another crow seems to be laughing at or menacing the man. A toad and a scorpion are on the ground in front of him. Among the creatures looking at him are, in the lower left corner, a water monster with spiky teeth and webbed wings emerging from the side of its head and a mermaid with two tails, her arms and hands open in a gesture that could be surprise, adulation, or helplessness. In the middle ground are a cock with outstretched wings, a basilisk, a griffon, a bear, and a lion; a centaur holding a bow is moving toward the right.

Behind the man, toward the left of the image, at the base of a tree a burst of light—which at first glance seems to come from the tail of the leopard—sends a serpentine trail of light upward, widening until it disappears into the light of the crescent moon at the upper left corner. Near the moon are six stars and a comet. At the top edge along most of the left half of the engraving are clouds, which emit rain, and, to the left of the mountains, snow. At the top of the trail of light, the north wind Boreas and two other heads on either side of his blow in three directions.

In the dim area behind the trail of light is a small satyr, which echoes the pose of the standing man. Farther back still, again echoing his pose, with one arm outstretched, is a centaur; and just visible, outlined in white, a winged figure emerges from the darkness of the trees.

The man looks across the water to a crowned woman who strides forward from the right. She carries an arrow point downward in her left hand, and her right is placed on the trunk of a palm tree. Beyond her is lush vegetation, resembling a garden of Paradise, and above her are three winged putti, one of which shoots an arrow toward the man while another, holding a palm, points toward him. On the ground in front of the woman are a bird and a snail, a snake devouring a frog, another frog, and a

rabbit; behind her is a peacock, and visible through the trees is an elephant. Lilies are carefully delineated along with other flowers in the foreground, as is the wheat plant in the lower right corner, and a pelican nests in a tree behind the woman: these are readily recognizable as Christian symbols.

Beyond the man, rocky terrain slopes upward to form jagged peaks; between two ranges of peaks appears an architectural structure resembling the Roman Colosseum. From the side of the mountains issue at least five waterfalls—and possibly seven, if the two lower ones are not continuations of those above. In the distance a sunlit plain, with houses, water, causeways, and human figures, stretches to a horizon where the sun is apparently rising, and over which a rainbow appears.

An inscription from the sixth book of Virgil's *Aeneid* appears on a plaque near each of the two figures (see *States*, above). Another plaque informs us that Philippus Datus commissioned the print and that it was "invented" by Raphael. Ghisi's name and the date are on a plaque in the middle of the foundering boat.

That the print is an allegory with an essentially hope-

ful message is agreed by all commentators. Mariette describes it as "a philosopher leaning against a sterile rock . . . while a nymph armed with an arrow, representing Glory, promises him happiness," and says that the print represents "the traverses to which the philosopher is exposed during his life."

More recently, taking his cue from the Virgilian inscriptions, Klein flatly states: "The decisive indication concerning the meaning of *The Dream of Raphael* was given by Panofsky when he noticed that the inscriptions at the feet of the two figures are taken from Book VI of the *Aeneid*, the Descent into Hell. Now there is nothing but to refer back to the context."³ He proceeded to advance an explication based on a Neoplatonic reading of Virgil, according to which Virgil's Hell is an allegory of human life.

But Albricci, in the most thorough article so far on the print, pointed out that "however rich in doctrine, this interpretation is not always pertinent to the engraved composition. It takes more into account the contents of the *Aeneid* and its philosophical meaning than it does the engraving."⁴ Albricci's summary, when all is said and



28. *Allegory of Life*, state i. The British Museum, London

done, is not unlike Mariette's description: "Probably the engraving is not an illustration of the VI book of the *Aeneid*: to modern students it seems more likely a transposition into a philosophical key of the allegory of human life: man, who has badly guided the boat of his own existence, becomes prisoner of the incubi and is saved by Reason."⁵ The woman may not necessarily represent Reason, but this summary seems to be correct in general.

Although Albricci mentioned and illustrated the British Museum's first state (see illustration), she did not note the fact that in that state only one area is reserved for an inscription, that near the feet of the old man. The three other areas that in the second state hold inscriptions—the bottom of the boat, the ground beneath the woman's left foot, and a section of water in the left foreground—had already been finished in this state, seeming to indicate that the Virgilian quotes were an afterthought. The blank area was probably originally meant to hold Ghisi's signature and the date, perhaps the credit to Raphael, and the name of Philippus Datus.

Albricci also did not mention the emblematic use of the phrase "Tu ne cede malis" in the mid-sixteenth century. The phrase appears in a caisson of a ceiling made between 1545 and 1550 in the Château of Dampierre-sur-Boutonne, accompanying an image of a woman planting seeds at the foot of a fruit tree.⁶ The phrase also is found on a work Ghisi almost certainly would have seen—on the reverse of a medal made by Leone Leoni in 1556 for Ferrante Gonzaga (1507–1557), Lord of Guastalla, brother of Duke Federigo and of Cardinal Ercole Gonzaga (see no. 24), and co-regent of Mantua during the minority of their nephews. The image accompanying the motto in this case was Hercules destroying the Hydra.⁷ Clearly, in both these cases, the motto is not used in connection with Virgil's work. Since, on the one hand, the Virgilian inscriptions were not intended from the beginning, and, on the other hand, "Tu ne cede malis" had been used in contexts that had no relation to Virgil, it seems certain that Klein's view was oversimplified and that the print was not meant merely as an illustration of the Virgilian Hell.

Others have seen the promise of happiness inherent in the print in terms of alchemy. Lennep writes: "The artist dreams in melancholy on the banks of the Styx that conveys infernal monsters, a skeleton, and a gutted boat. This infernal degradation during which the alchemist experiences the horrors of despair is only ephemeral, for in the distance a rainbow and a sunrise light the earth."⁸ Elsewhere Lennep writes that "the rainbow, symbol of the colors of the *oeuvre*, crosses the sky between the sun and the moon"⁹ (just where the rainbow occurs in this print), and he writes of the necessity for the alchemist to undergo a spiritual death, to descend into hell, "to visit the interior of the earth—which corresponds to a *regressus ad uterum*—to purify himself and find the secret stone." He continues: "This recalls the importance that the alche-

mists accord to sinister experiences. Their melancholy expresses itself by an arsenal of skulls, skeletons, crows, or the color black, symbolizing putrefaction."¹⁰

Gandolfo, too, discusses Ghisi's engraving as an alchemical image; he refers to the significance of the rainbow, writing, among other things, that it "is a sign of the moment in which occurs the passage from the realm of Saturn to that of Jove."¹¹ Further, the entire emblematic ceiling in the Château of Dampierre, with "Tu ne cede malis" among its mottoes, is, according to Lennep, "a series of alchemical images."¹² It thus seems undeniable that alchemy plays a decisive part in the symbolism of the print. Whether or not the image is closely related to a specific alchemical text is impossible to say with certainty, although if it were it seems probable that a writer such as Lennep or Gandolfo, versed in this literature, would have been able to link text and print. The engraving seems rather to be an independent image, incorporating ideas of alchemy current in the sixteenth century.¹³

Albricci introduces another theme, that of temptation, into her discussion of the print. She follows up at some length a puzzling quotation by d'Arco, from a guidebook to Milan, describing the print as "of the same size as the painting that exists in the Sacristy of the *sotterraneo di S. Carlo* in the cathedral." She found a late eighteenth-century reference to such a painting, on panel, described as depicting St. Anthony in the desert, but no more recent trace of it. Nonetheless, she observes that it is plausible to interpret the image as an allegory of temptation, with the animals on the left side personifying Satan, the Tempter.¹⁴

Despite all that has been written, the explication of the print has barely advanced since Mariette, and the title we have chosen to use is purposely unspecific, reflecting the absence of a precise identification of the subject.

Two coats of arms in the sunlit background of this print, hitherto unnoticed, may at some future point provide greater clarification of the subject. One, on a shield placed within the gable of the foremost building in the background, is a tower with a bend sinister overall. The other, covering the whole side of the adjacent building, is related to the first; it shows the same tower with bend sinister as on the other shield, impaling (on the dexter), per fess: 1) a chevron accompanied by three of the same unidentified objects, perhaps fish (?), and 2) a fess accompanied by three (2,1) objects also of uncertain identity—caldrons, purses, rings?

This latter coat of arms was added between the first and second states, at the same time as the three areas with inscriptions mentioned above, and under the same circumstances—that is, they were added to areas that already had been finished (see details, states i and ii). The bearer of the coat of arms most probably directed the addition of the inscriptions. Unfortunately, it has not



Detail, state i



Detail, state ii

been possible so far to identify the coats of arms. Apparently, the bearer wanted his or her connection with the print to be detectable, but not proclaimed.

In contrast to the coat of arms, the name "Philippus Datus" is prominently displayed, but it has also not been possible to find out who he was or what his connection might have been with either coat of arms.

Finally, the identity of the artist who composed the image is as much a mystery as its meaning and patronage. The inscription "RAPHAELIS URBINATIS INVENTUM", if read to indicate that the entire image was invented by Raphael, is obviously wrong. Critics since Mariette have doubted this attribution. Nevertheless, the male figure is visibly Raphaellesque, and in fact it resembles closely—in reverse—a figure in *The School of Athens* (see no. 11; the man leaning on the base of a capital below the statue of Athe-

na), although in Raphael's work this man is young and unbearded. Furthermore, as Albricci pointed out, a drawing (fig. 51) of this figure—probably a copy of a preliminary drawing by Raphael—exists in which the fingers of the extended hand are outstretched, as are those of the old man in the print.¹⁵ It is most probable that the figure of the man in the engraving derives from this or a similar drawing of Raphael's figure. Bartsch wrote that the old man was intended to represent Michelangelo,¹⁶ but, while the suggestion is admissible, the identification can by no means be assured (cf. Ghisi's *Portrait of Michelangelo*, no. 39).

Many writers, including Albricci, have named Penni as the probable inventor of the composition, a suggestion that also apparently originated with Bartsch. The crowned woman somewhat resembles Penni's female figures: the elaborate headdress is similar to those worn by the muses in no. 23, and the sandals are like those in no. 27. But the figure of the woman in this print is more squat and her face less handsome than Penni's females usually are—even the evil Ignorance and Suspicion, flanking the judge in *The Calumny of Apelles* (no. 27), are more beautiful than this woman.

Nearly sixty years ago, Disertori wrote that the crowned female figure was taken ("plagiarized" is his word) from a depiction of Ippolita Gonzaga (1535–1563), the daughter of Ferrante Gonzaga, as Diana, on the reverse of a medal by Leone Leoni made in 1551 (fig. 52).¹⁷ The resemblance is striking, as is the coincidence of the two medals by Leoni for the Gonzagas, the ruling family of Mantua—the medal for the daughter showing this female figure and the one for the father bearing the motto "Tu ne cede malis." Ghisi and Leoni both worked in metal, and Ghisi may well have known the eccentric and violent older artist personally and would certainly have known his work.

If the female figure does derive from the Leoni medal, and if the print does refer to alchemy—in which Diana as Luna played an important role—the name of Diana must be added to an already long list of possible identifications. Glory, Reason, Steadfastness, and, of course, the Sibyl, following the Virgilian context, have all been suggested. Two other possible identifications are worth mentioning, both stemming from depictions of a crowned female figure carrying a large arrow, point downward, from this period. One is in the well-known *Hypnerotomachia Polifili*; the figure is Psyche, the Soul.¹⁸ The other is the figure of Venus in Ioannes ab Indagine, *Introductiones Apotelesmaticae Elegantes*, published in Frankfurt about 1560.¹⁹ Both of these books, incidentally, are considered to be alchemical texts. But, with a precise context still lacking, each of these identifications remains only a possibility.

The composition as a whole is unlike Penni's work. It is fussy and cluttered, whereas Penni's compositions are open, elegant, and balanced (see nos. 21–23, 27). Disertori pointed out analogies between this print and Dirck Vellert's engraving of *The Flood*, and Massari sug-



Fig. 51. Figure studies for *The School of Athens*. Drawing, probably a copy after Raphael. Städelches Kunst-institut, Frankfurt. Photo: Ursula Edelmann

Fig. 52. *Ippolita Gonzaga as Diana*. Medal, reverse, by Leone Leoni. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Bequest of Gwynne M. Andrews, 1931. 31.33.17



gested that the landscape is like that of Lucas Gassel, although neither of these writers intended to imply that these artists were responsible for the entire composition.

The *Allegory of Life* thus comprises a figure from Raphael and a figure probably from Leoni, put together by an unknown artist, perhaps Ghisi himself, into a busy, cluttered composition the precise meaning of which is still elusive and the sponsorship of which is still mysterious. Unlikely as it seems, this combination has resulted in an engraving with extraordinary strength and presence, one that has fascinated viewers for over four hundred years.

Notes:

1. We give this inscription as transcribed in Gioconda Albricci, "Il 'Sogno di Raffaello' di Giorgio Ghisi," *Arte cristiana*, 71 (1983), p. 216.
2. Besides the references cited above, two entire articles have been devoted to this print: Benvenuto Disertori, "Fra incisori antichi e stampe rare, Il Sogno di Raffaello ossia la vita del saggio," *Emporium*, 64 (1926), pp. 258–65; and Albricci, "Il 'Sogno,'" pp. 215–22. A short exegesis, written by Robert Klein, was provided in Zerner, "Ghisi et la gravure maniériste," p. 76. See also the references in notes 8 and 11 below.
3. Zerner, "Ghisi et la gravure maniériste," p. 76.
4. Albricci, "Il 'Sogno,'" p. 216.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 215.

6. Lennep, *Art et alchimie*, pp. 187–90, specifically p. 188, no. 31.

7. Alfred Armand, *Les médailleurs italiens des quinzième et seizième siècles*, 2 vols. (2nd ed. Paris: E. Plon, 1883), I, p. 164, no. 12; Eugène Plon, *Les maîtres italiens au service de la maison d'Autriche, Leone Leoni et Pompeo Leoni* (Paris: E. Plon, 1887), pp. 267–68; Chambers and Martineau, *Splendours*, no. 146, obverse only, with a description of the reverse that does not mention the motto. The same reverse was apparently used on a medal of Pietro Capalla, of unknown origin (Armand, *Médailleurs italiens*, II, p. 230, no. 5). Mario Praz, in Chambers and Martineau, *Splendours*, p. 71, says that "according to Pietrasanta" the device, with Hercules, was also used by Cardinal Pirro Gonzaga, but we have been unable to verify this.

8. Lennep, *Art et alchimie*, p. 212.

9. *Ibid.*, p. 88.

10. *Ibid.*, pp. 89–90.

11. Francesco Gandolfo, *Il "dolce tempo," mistica, ermetismo e sogno nel cinquecento* (Rome: Bulzoni, 1978), p. 157.

12. See note 6.

13. A profound and detailed study of this print's alchemical symbolism remains to be made; virtually every element, every animal and plant, in the print could be shown to have an alchemical significance. But to do so would require a knowledge of this vast and slippery subject that we do not have and would result in an article much too long for this catalogue. Just to define alchemy is problematic. R. P. Multhauf, in Ian MacPhail et al., *Alchemy and the Occult: A Catalogue of Books and Manuscripts from the Collection of Paul and Mary Mellon Given to Yale University Library*, 2 vols. (New Haven: Yale University Library, 1968), I, p. xii, writes:

What was, or is 'the Art'? Therein resides a partial explanation of our difficulties, for agreement is largely lacking in the definition of alchemy. Surveying the whole of its long history and immense literature, one can say with confidence that its practitioners can be differentiated into those whose objectives relate to the external world and those who are concerned with the microcosm, man himself. But although few alchemists had both objectives, among those who concerned themselves with the improvement of man some had in mind merely the extension of the span of life, and some, whose objective was apparently nothing more than the ennoblement of the base metals, sought this end through theurgic practices virtually identical with those through which other alchemists sought to ennoble the human soul.

The union of opposites is one of the most important themes in alchemy. Carl Jung, who was fascinated by the relation of alchemy and psychology, devoted his last book, which was more than ten years in the writing, to this theme: C. G. Jung, *Mysterium coniunctionis: An Inquiry into the Separation and Synthesis of Psychic Opposites in Alchemy*, trans. R. F. C. Hull (New York: Pantheon, 1963). Grateful acknowledgment is made to Kay Agena for pointing out the relevance of this book to Ghisi's engraving. At a glance, Ghisi's print can be seen to unite, as it were, the pairs of opposites male and female, young and old, barren and fruitful, winter and summer, storm and calm, mountains and plain, night and day.

Most of the well-known compilations of alchemical texts were published in the late sixteenth or early seventeenth century, and few published texts were extensively illustrated before the seventeenth century. But manuscripts of the texts circulated earlier, and some of these were illustrated; many of these surely no longer exist or are hidden in obscure collections. The mermaid with double tail, for instance, appears in a woodcut illustrating the first edition of Basilus Valentinus, *Azoth*, published in Paris (Jeremie et Christophle Perier) in 1624. Valentinus, according to MacPhail et al., *Alchemy*, II, p. 280, "appears to have flourished about the beginning of the fifteenth century at Erfurt in Germany, but no details of his life have come to us." Obviously, it is not possible to know what manuscripts of this text, and with what (if any) illustrations, might have existed that Ghisi, or his patron, could have known prior to 1561. The same is true of dozens of other alchemical texts.

One further fact should be stressed, with reference to the inscription "Philippus Datus commissioned [this print] for the good of his soul" on Ghisi's engraving: alchemy was not at odds with Christianity. Johannes Fabricius, *Alchemy: The Medieval Alchemists and Their Royal Art* (Copenhagen: Rosenkilde and Bagger, 1976), on p. 5, writes:

Alchemy presents a pictorial and literary account of the opus alchymicum, which is one of the greatest achievements of medieval European civilization, rivaling the creation of the Gothic cathedral, scholastic philosophy, and polyphonic music. A mystical system for man's salvation of his soul, and ultimate reunion with his divine source [our italics], the 'alchemical work' comprises a series of rituals and symbols, doctrines and procedures, which were guarded with the utmost secrecy and which finally disappeared with the decline of alchemy in the Seventeenth Century.

See also the chapter "The Alchemical Dimension" in Colin Eisler, *The Master of the Unicorn: The Life and Work of Jean Duvet* (New York: Abaris, 1979), pp. 35-46.

14. Albricci, "Il 'Sogno,'" pp. 217-18.

15. Ibid., pp. 219, 222, note 33. Städelches Kunstinstitut, Frankfurt, inventory no. 4303, 385 × 284 mm.

16. "This piece is ordinarily called *The Dream of Raphael*, or also *The Melancholy of Michelangelo*, given the resemblance of the head of the philosopher with the portrait of this artist"; other cataloguers repeated his suggestion.

17. Disertori, "Il Sogno di Raffaello," pp. 264-65; Plon, *Leone Leoni*, pp. 263-64; Chambers and Martineau, *Splendours*, no. 148.

18. Francesco Colonna, *Hyperboreomachie, ou discours du songe de Poliphile*, translated from the Italian into French (Paris: Jaques Kerver, 1546), leaf 118 verso. The French edition is cited because that probably would have been more accessible than the edition published by Aldus Manutius in Venice in 1499. The illustration in that edition appears on leaf Xiii verso. For Ghisi prints having a connection with this book, see nos. 22 and 50.

19. See MacPhail et al., *Alchemy*, no. 35.

29 *Caius Marius in Prison*

After Polidoro Caldara da Caravaggio
1560s

Platemark: 204/206 × 280/287 mm.

States:

i: Before any publisher's address. On a tablet in lower left corner: "POLL. / .IN. / .G.MF.". A light borderline all around, 202 × 276 mm.

Impressions are very fine and dark.

Watermark: no. 56.

ii: Added lower right, in blank area: "Ant. LafreriII.".

iii: Lafreri's name erased, but traces sometimes visible.

This state can be distinguished from state i by the fact that impressions show some to much wear.

Watermarks: nos. 19, 23, and 36.

The plate is in the Calcografia Nazionale, inventory no. 225.



29. *Caius Marius in Prison*, state i. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Elisha Whittelsey Collection, The Elisha Whittelsey Fund, 1951. 51.501.661

In the catalogue for the auction of duplicates from the Fürstl. Waldburg-Wolfegg Kupferstich-Kabinett Collection at Gutekunst in Stuttgart, May 1901, an impression without Ghisi's monogram and all letters is described. We have no way of knowing whether this was a real first state or a trimmed impression.

References:

Bartsch 26, Massari 197

The dramatic confrontation between Caius Marius, the brilliant and ruthless Roman general, and his jailers at Minturno is the subject of this engraving based on a lost composition by Polidoro Caldara da Caravaggio (1490/1500–1535/43). Polidoro, who assisted Raphael and Giovanni da Udine in the decoration of the Papal Palace, is best known for the many painted facades he executed on Roman buildings, with the assistance of Maturino da Firenze, in the years immediately preceding the sack of Rome in 1527. These designs, rendered in chiaroscuro or sgraffito after antique prototypes, have all but disappeared,¹ although many can be documented through the descriptions of Vasari or through copies, either drawn or engraved.² Marabottini lists the Caius Marius facade among works by Polidoro of undetermined location, citing Ghisi's engraving as evidence of its existence.³

A drawing in the Lugt Collection in Paris provides further proof that such a chiaroscuro did exist.⁴ It resembles the engraving both in its overall composition and in such details as the soldiers' garments, the drapery of the general's robe, the trellised wainscoting, and the unusual bench. Subtle differences in the placement of the figures and the sketchiness of the design, however, rule it out as Ghisi's model. While Vasari does not mention

the subject of this drawing and Ghisi's engraving, he does describe other facades that can be linked to drawings by the same hand in the Lugt Collection.⁵

The simple format and the references to Roman history and architecture might suggest an early date for this engraving, near the time of Ghisi's visit to Rome. In contrast to the ornate, diffuse style of Ghisi's earlier prints, however, this engraving employs a vigorous line to amplify the drama of the scene, especially the telling gesture with which the general wards off his executioners. The style is that of Ghisi's mature years, and we are therefore dating this print in the 1560s.

A further indication that this engraving postdates the Antwerp years is the anachronistic landscape visible through the window. Such a detailed vista would probably not have been included in Polidoro's original facade, and its absence from the Lugt drawing confirms this assumption. Although a few landscapes by Polidoro survive, the scene in Ghisi's print more closely resembles, in both style and content, the views of Roman ruins etched by Hieronymus Cock in the early 1550s, especially the background of Cock's etching after Heemskerck, *St. Jerome in a Landscape with Ruins* (fig. 53).⁶ It seems likely that Ghisi, no longer working for Cock, included this contemporary view in his scene from ancient Rome as a homage to his former publisher.

There is a counterproof of this print, probably in the first state, in the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, with a counterproof of one of the ceilings after Primaticcio, in the second state, on the reverse (see nos. 34–37).

Notes:

1. Alessandro Marabottini, *Polidoro da Caravaggio*, 2 vols. (Rome: Edizione dell'Elefante, 1969), I, pp. 102–35. See also Cecilia Pericoli Ridolfini, *Le case romane con facciate graffiti e dipinte*, exhib. cat. (Rome: Palazzo Braschi, 1960).

2. Vasari, *Lives* (de Vere), pp. 1,084–90; (Milanesi) v, pp. 142–50. Vasari observes that Polidoro and his assistant were the favorites of all the draughtsmen in Rome and "their works [were] continually being drawn by all the foreign painters" (de Vere, p. 1,085).

3. Marabottini, *Polidoro da Caravaggio*, I, pp. 375–76; II, pl. CLVI, 2.

4. Fondation Custodia, Institut Néerlandais (inventory no. 9569). Lanfranco Ravelli, *Polidoro Caldara da Caravaggio* (Milan: Edizione "Monumenta Bergomensia," 1978), pp. 286–88, no. 460. Ravelli lists the drawing under "Copies after Polidoro," but makes no mention of its similarity to Ghisi's engraving.

5. Ravelli, *Polidoro*, pp. 286, 288. Ravelli suggests that this facade dates back to Polidoro's earliest activity, a prolific period that Vasari chose not to describe in detail.

6. Riggs, *Hieronymus Cock*, pp. 256–66, nos. 1–25; p. 279, no. 51. These views, possibly based on Cock's own drawings, became popular sources for both Flemish and Italian artists. Oberhuber notes that copies by G. B. Pittoni after Cock were used by Veronese in his Villa Maser frescoes. See Konrad Oberhuber, "Hieronymus Cock, Battista Pittoni und Paolo Veronese in Villa Maser," in *Munuscula Discipulorum, Kunsthistorische Studien Hans Kauffman zum 70. Geburtstag*, 1966 (Berlin: B. Hessling, 1968), pp. 207–24.

ROSE-HELEN BREININ



Fig. 53. *St. Jerome in a Landscape with Ruins*. Etching after Martin van Heemskerck, by Hieronymus Cock. Prints Division, The New York Public Library; Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations

30 *Hercules, Bacchus, Pan, and Another God*

After Primaticcio

1560s

Platemark: 172/179 × 237/241 mm. (rectangular).

States:

i: Before any publisher's address. A light borderline surrounds the oval image, ca. 177 × 235 mm. At bottom center: "FRA. BOL. IN. G MF."

Impressions are fine and dark, sometimes with clogging.

Watermarks: nos. 30 (or state ii) and 44.

ii: Added in blank area of plate, lower right: "ANT. LAFRERI".

We have seen only one impression in this state, at El Escorial (28-II-19).

iii: Lafreri's name erased, but traces sometimes visible. A diagonal scratch through Bacchus's nose.

Impressions range from very good to pale and worn. In very late impressions, the lines of mouths and some outlines appear dark and retouched, but this may be due to wear of the finer lines.

Watermarks: nos. 9 (or state ii) and 20 or 26.

The plate is in the Calcografia Nazionale, inventory no. 687/4.

References:

Bartsch 48, Dimier 63, Massari 225

For discussion of this series, see p. 127.



30. *Hercules, Bacchus, Pan, and Another God*, state i. Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, Philadelphia

31 *Venus, Two Other Goddesses, and Two Putti*

After Primaticcio

1560s

Platemark: 190/191 × 244/246 mm. (rectangular).

States:

i: Before any publisher's address. A light borderline surrounds the oval image, ca. 184 × 237 mm. At bottom center: ".FRAN. BOL. IN. G.MF.". Vertical shading lines on Venus's left cheek and eye socket. The putto at right in deep shadow.

Impressions are fine and dark, sometimes with clogging.

Watermarks: nos. 30 and 43.

ii: Added in the blank margin, lower left: "ANT. LAFRERI".

We have seen only one impression in this state, at El Escorial (28-II-19).

iii: Lafreri's name erased, but traces sometimes visible.

Impressions show some or much wear. Lines on Venus's left cheek have more or less worn away; the putto at right is no longer in deep shadow. In very late impressions, the eyes and mouths of all the figures appear dark and retouched, but this may be due to wear of the finer lines.

The plate is in the Calcografia Nazionale, inventory no. 687/3.

References:

Bartsch 49, Dimier 64, Massari 226

For discussion of this series, see p. 127.



31. *Venus, Two Other Goddesses, and Two Putti*, state i (trimmed to borderline). Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, Philadelphia

32 *Juno and Other Goddesses*

After Primaticcio

1560s

Platemark: 185/186 × 244/246 mm. (rectangular).

States:

- i: Before additional shading. A light borderline surrounds the oval image, ca. 182 × 240 mm. At bottom center: "FRAN. BOL/ IN./ .G.MF."

Impressions are fine to very fine and dark, sometimes with clogging.

Watermark: no. 30.

- ii: Horizontal shading lines just above the elbow of the goddess at left have been lengthened toward the outside, and diagonal shading lines have been added over existing crosshatching on the fold of her cloak below her left shoulder. Eyes, mouths, and some outlines have been strengthened.

Outlines and facial features look very dark, especially on late, light impressions. On the latest impressions, the deep shadows have been lost and the dark and light contrast in the sky has almost been lost.

It may be that there is a state with Lafreri's name, as in the case of the other three subjects in this set, or it may be that this subject was printed on the same sheet as one of the others, as in the following set after Primaticcio.

The plate is in the Calcografia Nazionale, inventory no. 687/2.

References:

Bartsch 50, Dimier 65, Massari 227

For discussion of this series, see p. 127.



32. *Juno and Other Goddesses*, state i. Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, Philadelphia

33 *Apollo, Neptune, Pluto, and Athena*

After Primaticcio

1560s

Platemark: 178 × 236/240 mm. (rectangular).

States:

i: A light borderline surrounds the oval image, 176 × 236 mm. The cloak of the figure at far left projects into the blank margin. At bottom center: "FRAN. BOL. IN. GMF."

Impressions are very fine and dark, sometimes with clogging.

Watermarks: nos. 30 and 44 (or state ii).

ii: Added in blank margin, lower right, in line with the bottom of the image: "ANT. LAFRERII".

We have seen only two impressions in this state, at the British Museum (C 54) and the Staatliche Kunsthbibliothek, Berlin.

iii: Lafreri's name erased, but traces sometimes visible.

Impressions show some to much wear. In very late, light impressions, the mouths, eyes, and some outlines look dark and retouched, but this may be due to wear of the finer lines.

Watermarks: nos. 17, 20, and 26, and (on very late impressions) 70.

The plate is in the Calcografia Nazionale, inventory no. 687/1.

References:

Bartsch 51, Dimier 66, Massari 228



33. *Apollo, Neptune, Pluto, and Athena*, state i. Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, Philadelphia

These four prints and the four following (nos. 34–37) were based on Primaticcio's designs for the ceiling of the Galerie d'Ulysse at Fontainebleau. The gallery was built between 1527 and 1540, and decoration of it began in 1541, with the subjects depicted in these prints probably completed by 1547. The gallery was destroyed during 1738 and 1739.¹

The ceiling was divided into fifteen vaulted bays, with each vault containing a central image surrounded by four or eight subsidiary scenes. According to Mariette, the four images depicted in Ghisi's prints were part of the decoration of the vault of the third bay, where they surrounded, "in an entirely poetic manner," a central image of the rising and setting of the moon.² These do not necessarily represent the decor exactly as it was, for Ghisi probably worked from preparatory drawings by Primaticcio, not drawings of the ceiling itself.

A much more developed engraving style is evident in these prints than in *The Mystic Marriage of St. Catherine* (no. 17), also based on a Primaticcio composition, and, thus, these prints must date from a later period. They do predate, however, Ghisi's return to Italy about 1569, as the watermarks on the first states show that they were printed in the north of Europe, and, since there are no dated prints between 1561 (no. 28) and 1567 (no. 41), we have placed them during that period.

After the initial printing, the plates were later taken to Italy and were owned by Lafreri. The Lafreri state, however, is extremely rare (see *States*, above), indicating either that he owned the plates for a number of years but, for whatever reason, chose not to print many impressions, or that they did not come into his possession until close to his death (see Publishers).

Notes:

1. Fontainebleau, p. 480.

2. P.-J. Mariette, *Abécédario*, 6 vols. (Paris: J.-B. Dumoulin, 1851–60), VI, p. 294. Sylvie Béguin is at work on a monograph on the Galerie d'Ulysse, with a detailed account of its architecture and decoration, in which the relation of these subjects to the whole program will probably be elaborated.



34. *Three Muses and a Putto with a Lyre, state i.* Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris

34 *Three Muses and a Putto with a Lyre*

After Primaticcio

1560s

Platemark: 291/295 × 166/169 mm. (rectangular).

States:

i: Before the borderline around the image, and before additional shading. Platemark ca. 2 mm. from the image at its greatest height and width. Giorgio's monogram at bottom right. On the clouds beneath the feet of the muses: "FRAN. BOL. IN.". Blank areas show many surface scratches.

This state is rare.

Watermark: no. 71.

ii: With a definite borderline around the left half of the image. The upper edge of the right shoulder of the muse at left unshaded and the drape around her heel not completely shaded. The inside edge of the putto's upper left thigh unshaded. The top of the cushion at far left near the borderline mostly unshaded.

Impressions are very fine and dark. This state is rare.

Watermark: no. 30.

iii: Before any publisher's address. The upper edge of the right shoulder of the muse at left and the drape around her heel now shaded with parallel lines. The inside edge of the putto's upper left thigh shaded with parallel lines. The top of the cushion heavily shaded; the innermost section almost covered with crosshatching.

Impressions range from fine and dark to good. This state is rare.

iv: Added in blank area, lower right, in line with the base of the image: "ANT. LAFRERI".

Impressions range from fine to very good.

Watermark: no. 32.

v: Lafreri's name erased, but traces sometimes still visible. This state is at times distinguishable from state iii only by the quality of the impression.

Impressions range from good to late and light.

vi: A fig leaf added on the putto.

Impressions are late and worn.

The fig leaf was added after May 1823 by order of Pope Leo XII, according to Massari.

The plate is in the Calcografia Nazionale, inventory no. 686/2.

Copy:

Anonymous. Engraving, same size and direction. Without letters. Rather crudely engraved. Massari calls this another version, but it appears too similar to Ghisi's to be anything but a copy. Massari 220.

References:

Bartsch 36, Dimier 59, Massari 219

For discussion of this series, see p. 135.



35. *Three Muses and a Gesturing Putto*, state i. Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris

35 *Three Muses and a Gesturing Putto*

After Primaticcio

1560s

Platemark: 292/296 × 172/173 mm. (rectangular).

States:

- i: Before the borderline around the image, and before additional shading. Platemark ca. 2 mm. from the image at its greatest height and width. At bottom: "FRAN. BOL. IN./ .G.MAF.". Many scratches in blank areas.

This state is rare.

Watermark: no. 71.

- ii: With a definite borderline on left half of the image. The top edge of the left thigh of the muse at right and the top edge of the collar of her cloak, except at far right, are white. The putto's upper right forearm touches his back.

Impressions are very fine and dark. This state is rather rare.

Watermarks: nos. 14 and 30.

- iii: The top edge of the left thigh of the muse at right now shaded with short diagonal lines. The top edge of her cloak shaded from her nape almost to her chin. The putto's upper body reduced so that it no longer touches the upper right forearm, but the old outline is visible down to the back of the knee.

The series at El Escorial shows that in the Lafreri edition this print and no. 37 were printed on one sheet, with Lafreri's address on no. 37.

Watermark: no. 3.

- iv: A fig leaf added on the putto.

Impressions are light and worn.

The fig leaf was added after May 1823 by order of Pope Leo XII, according to Massari.

The plate is in the Calcografia Nazionale, inventory no. 686/1.

Copy:

Anonymous. Engraving, same size and direction. Without letters. Rather crudely engraved. Massari calls this another version, but it seems too similar to Giorgio's to be anything but a copy. Massari 222.

References:

Bartsch 37, Dimier 60, Massari 221

For discussion of this series, see p. 135.



36. *Three Muses and a Putto with Cymbals*, state i. Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris

36 *Three Muses and a Putto with Cymbals*

After Primaticcio

1560s

Platemark: 295/300 × 169/170 mm. (rectangular).

States:

- i: Before the borderline around the image, and before additional shading. Platemark ca. 2 mm. from the image at its greatest height and width. On the pillow, far right: "FRAN. BOL. IN". Giorgio's monogram at bottom center under the foot of a muse. No string on the bow by the muse at left.

This state is rare.

Watermark: no. 71.

- ii: A borderline on the left half of the image. The top edge of the shoulder of the muse at right is white. The back of the neck of the muse at left is white. The top edge of the putto's upper thigh is white, and his lower legs show small white areas.

Impressions are fine and dark. This state is rare.

Watermarks: nos. 14, 30, and 44.

- iii: A string added to the bow of the muse at left. Short parallel lines added to the top edge of the left shoulder of muse at right. The back of the neck of the muse at left shaded with parallel lines. The top edge of the putto's upper thigh shaded with parallel lines and his lower legs completely shaded.

The series at El Escorial shows that in the Lafreri edition this print and no. 34 were printed on one sheet, with Lafreri's name on no. 34.

Watermark: no. 32.

- iv: A fig leaf added on the putto.

Impressions are light and worn.

The fig leaf was added after May 1823 by order of Pope Leo XII, according to Massari.

The plate is in the Calcografia Nazionale, inventory no. 686/3.

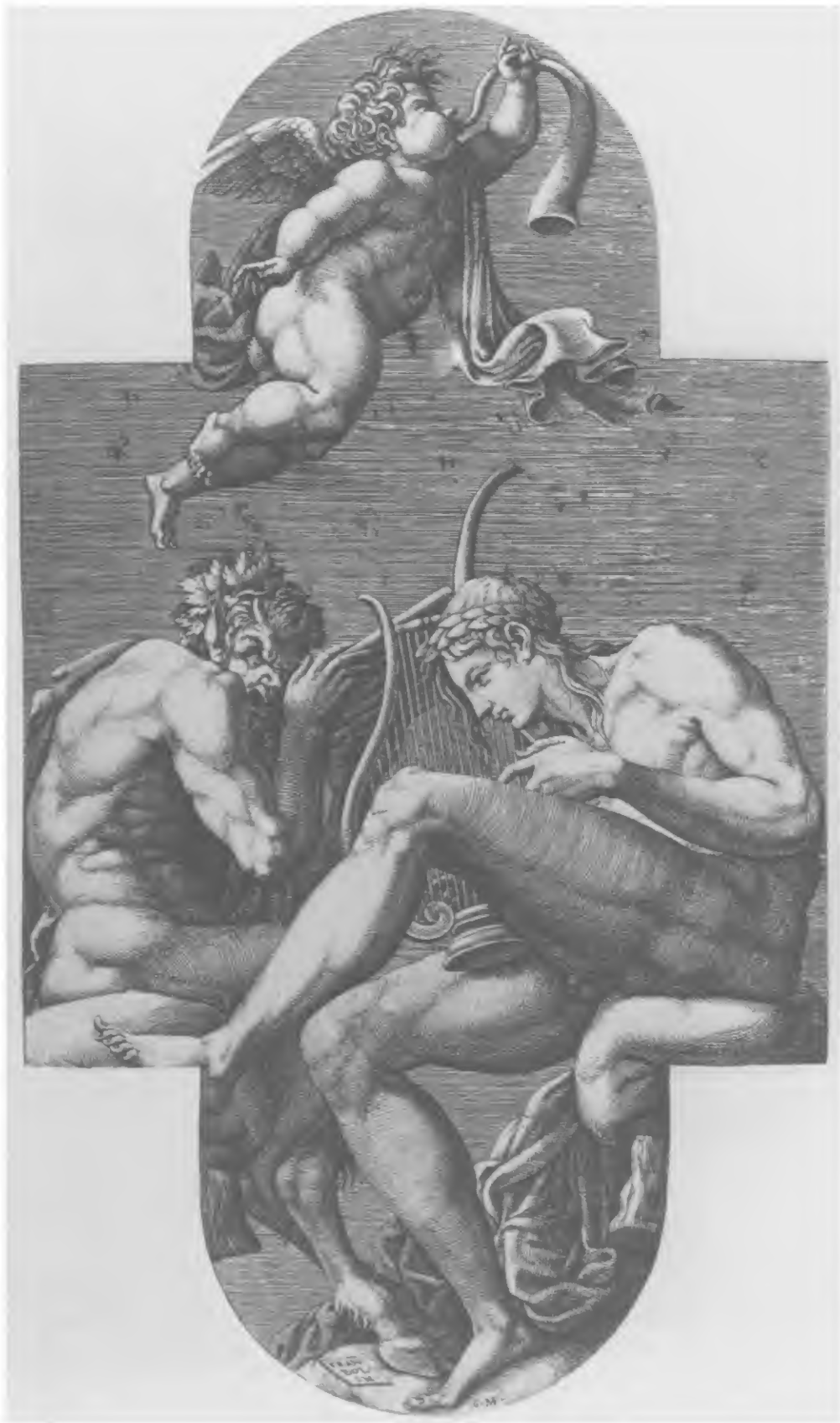
Copy:

Anonymous. Engraving, same size and direction. Without letters. No string on bow. Rather crudely engraved. Massari calls this another version, but it seems too similar to Giorgio's state ii to be anything but a copy. Massari 224.

References:

Bartsch 38, Dimier 61, Massari 223

For discussion of this series, see p. 135.



37. *Apollo, Pan, and a Putto Blowing a Horn*, state iii (trimmed to borderline). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Elisha Whittelsey Collection, The Elisha Whittelsey Fund, 1949. 49.95.161

37 *Apollo, Pan, and a Putto Blowing a Horn*

After Primaticcio

1560s

Platemark: 295/300 × 167/170 mm. (rectangular).

States:

- i: Before the borderline around the image, and before additional shading. Platemark ca. 2 mm. from the image at its greatest height and width. Giorgio's monogram at bottom under Apollo's foot. On a small tablet behind Pan's hoof: "FRAN. / BOL. / IN."

This state is rare.

- ii: A borderline around the left side of the image. The front of Apollo's left shin line and the top edge of the cushion on which he sits are white. The back of the putto's left ankle and heel are white.

Impressions are very fine and dark. This state is rather rare.

Watermark: no. 30.

- iii: Apollo's shin line, the top edge of the cushion, and the back of the putto's left ankle and heel shaded with short parallel lines.

Impressions are fine and dark. This state is rare.

- iv: In the lower right corner of the plate, in line with the bottom of the image, in blank area: "ANT. LAFRERI". There is a horizontal scratch running through the draperies and the bottom of Apollo's cushion, ca. 24 mm. long, ca. 11 mm. below his right thigh.

Watermark: no. 32.

- v: Lafreri's name erased, but sometimes still visible. This state is distinguishable from state iii by the scratch described in state iv.

Impressions show considerable wear.

The plate is in the Calcografia Nazionale, inventory no. 686/4.

Copy:

Anonymous. Engraving, same size and direction. Without letters. Rather crudely engraved. Massari calls this another version, but it seems too similar to Giorgio's to be anything but a copy. Massari 218.

References:

Bartsch 39, Dimier 62, Massari 217

According to Mariette, these four prints were based on compositions surrounding a central image of Venus and the three Fates in the vault of the fourth bay in the Galerie d'Ulysse at Fontainebleau. See also the discussion for nos. 30–33.

In the Rijksmuseum there is a counterproof of *Three Muses and a Putto with a Lyre* (no. 34) in the second state, that is, two states before Lafreri's name appears, with a counterproof of *Caius Marius* (no. 29) without Lafreri's name on the other side. If the counterproof is from the image of *Caius Marius* in the first state, as seems likely, it would indicate that the latter and the ceilings were made around the same time and place. The style and the watermarks corroborate this inference, and the fact that the plates of *Caius Marius* and the ceilings all passed to Lafreri and then to the Calcografia Nazionale also bear it out.

The additional work in the third state of these prints is undoubtedly by Giorgio, but the first two states do not seem to be proofs, as we have seen from one to five impressions of each in the first state and four to seven in the second state. We do not know whether the work was done before or after Giorgio's return to Mantua. Although Lafreri's name appears on only two of these prints, he did publish all four, as is shown by uncut impressions at El Escorial, printed two to a sheet, with Lafreri's name on only one print on each sheet.



38. *Allegorical Figure Holding a Sphere.* Collection of Mr. and Mrs. Marcus Sopher

38 Allegorical Figure Holding a Sphere

After Giulio Romano (?)
Mid-1560s

Platemark: 242/247 × 152/156 mm.

State:

Only state. Ghisi's monogram to the left of the figure's feet. Three borderlines: (1) around image, 233 × 128 mm., with the tip of the front wing projecting; (2) 235 × 130 mm., double at top and left, the wing projecting; (3) outer borderline, 243 × 136 mm., double at bottom and right.

Watermarks: nos. 16, 37, and 66 (all early impressions).

The plate is in the Calcografia Nazionale, inventory no. 637.

References:

Bartsch 34, Massari 203

Often called Victory or sometimes Fortune, this winged figure with left hand on hip, holding a globe in front of her with her right arm, has puzzled cataloguers from the beginning. Traditionally, Victory is depicted as a figure holding a palm or wreath; Fortune normally is shown as a figure standing on a globe rather than holding one. To call her Temperance, as she is designated in the other printed version of this figure (see *Another version*, below), is not at all persuasive: Temperance usually holds a bridle, or a pitcher to quench the flames of passion, as in the border of *Hercules Victorious Over the Hydra* (no. 24).

Bartsch suggested that the print may have been based on a drawing by Giulio Romano, and indeed the work the print most resembles is one of the twelve small figures

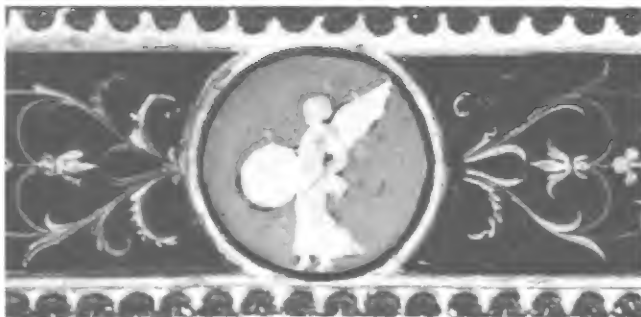


Fig. 55. *Primo Mobile*, from Tarocchi Series E. Anonymous engraving (facsimile). The Metropolitan Museum of Art

Fig. 54. *Allegorical Figure Holding a Sphere*. Fresco after a design by Giulio Romano, Loggia of the Grotto, Palazzo del Te, Mantua. Photo: Frick Art Reference Library

that decorate the borders of nine of the scenes in the Loggia of the Grotto in the Palazzo del Te, Mantua, designed by Giulio. The figure in question (fig. 54) appears in a medallion directly above the scene depicting an allegory of birth, one of the two principal scenes from this room that Ghisi engraved (no. 26). The iconography of the main scenes themselves has not been satisfactorily explained, and to our knowledge detailed attention has not been given to the border figures, but it seems likely that their iconography is related to the main scenes. The import of the scene showing an allegory of birth seems to be that the newborn is subject to a variety of influences, including the Fates, and perhaps especially the stars. If this interpretation is correct, then the winged female figure directly above the center of the scene where the newborn is being presented to two genii—possibly representing good and evil—may have some astrological or other celestial significance. She could even be the Primo Mobile, represented as a winged female figure holding a sphere in the late-fifteenth-century Tarot cards (fig. 55), first mentioned in connection with this print by Sopher and Lazzaro-Bruno.¹

The print is difficult to date. It was first printed in northern Europe, as indicated by the watermarks on early impressions. The plate was brought to Italy, and assuming that Ghisi himself may have carried it there, we have dated the print to the mid-1560s, toward the end of his stay in the north.

Another version:

Signed “MAF”. Engraving, 315 × 225 mm. The figure faces right, in a landscape. In the blank margin at base, a distych beginning “LA TEMPERANZA. . . .” Beneath, center: “ROMAE. MDL. VII EX TYPIS. B. F.”. Bartsch xv, Monogram no. 31.

Note:

1. Marcus S. Sopher, with Claudia Lazzaro-Bruno, *Sixteenth-Century Italian Prints*, exhib. cat. (Claremont, Calif.: Montgomery Art Gallery, 1978), no. 43. The card is in Hind, *Early Italian Engravings*, 1, p. 240, no. 49a.

39 *Portrait of Michelangelo*

After Marcello Venusti
After 1564

Platemark: 264/267 × 197/200 mm.

State:

Only state. In the tablet beneath the portrait: "MICHAEL ANGELVS BONAROTA/ TVSCORVM FLOS DELIBATVS/ DVARVM ARTIVM PVLCHERRIMARV̄/ HVMANAE VITAE VICARIARVM/ PICTVRAE STATVARIAE QVE/ SVO PENITVS SAECVLO EXTINCTARV̄/ ALTER INVENTOR FACIEBAT" (Michelangelo Buonarroti, the picked flower of the Tuscans in the two most beautiful imitative arts of human life, painting and sculpture, which perished altogether with his age. Another artist made it). Below this, Giorgio's monogram.

Early impressions are rich with sharp contrasts, much stippling on the face, and ruled guidelines for the letters of the inscription below. In late impressions, the stippling has disappeared and the ruled lines are no longer visible.

Watermarks: nos. 44 (early impressions) and 34 and 70 (very late impressions, as the de Rubeis edition).

The plate is in the Calcografia Nazionale, inventory no. 277.

References:

Bartsch 71; d'Arco, p. 113, no. 53; Bellini, p. 174; Massari 182

Only a few actual portraits were made of the great sculptor, painter, and architect Michelangelo (1475–1564). Ghisi's engraving is based on Marcello Venusti's version of a portrait painted by Jacopino del Conte. Both the original painting and Venusti's version of it were made about 1545 (fig. 56).¹

Ghisi's print shows Michelangelo at about seventy, when the paintings of the Sistine Ceiling (see nos. 44–49) were more than thirty years behind him. He had recently finished *The Last Judgment* (see no. 9), and he had accepted, at the insistence of Pope Paul III, the post of chief architect of St. Peter's. How Ghisi saw Venusti's portrait, or a drawing after it, is unknown, but as Venusti had strong ties with Mantua and as Ghisi had probably used a draw-

ing by Venusti for his engraving of *The Last Judgment*, we can assume that there was an avenue of communication between the two artists.² The ornamental frame in the print may well reproduce the one that held the painting.

Because the Rossi in the seventeenth century (see Publishers) and then later the Calcografia Nazionale issued impressions from this plate with impressions from *The Last Judgment*, d'Arco and subsequent Italian writers up to Massari have stated that the portrait is the frontispiece for *The Last Judgment*.³ Furthermore, Pittaluga, Rotili, and Perina say that both the portrait and *The Last Judgment* were made in 1556.⁴

The Last Judgment, however, is certainly earlier, and the inscription on the plate of the *Portrait* seems to indicate that Michelangelo was dead when the engraving was



Fig. 56. *Portrait of Michelangelo*. Oil painting by Marcello Venusti after Jacopino del Conte. Musei Capitolini, Rome. Photo: Barbara Malter, Rome



39. Portrait of Michelangelo. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam

made. His death occurred on February 18, 1564. Further, the style of this engraving supports the hypothesis that it was made in the mid-1560s; certainly, Ghisi's technique and style here are far more developed than in *The Last Judgment*. Finally, the watermarks show that the paper on which the earliest impressions were printed was made in the north. In fact, early impressions have the same watermarks as are found on early impressions of the engravings based on the ceiling paintings by Primaticcio (nos. 30–37). Like the plates for those engravings, the plate for the *Portrait of Michelangelo* traveled to Italy, and later impressions were printed on Italian paper. The plate itself never received a publisher's address, although it is clear it was in the hands of the Rossi family before it passed to the Calcografia Nazionale.

Notes:

1. Ernst Steinmann, *Die Porträt Darstellungen des Michelangelo* (Leipzig: Klinkhardt & Biermann, 1913), p. 37, pl. 28; an admirably concise summary is presented in Charles Richard Cammel, "The Authentic Likeness of Michelangelo," *Connoisseur*, 104 (July–December 1939), pp. 119–25.
2. See Davidson, "Drawings by Marcello Venusti," p. 6.
3. In his catalogue entry for *The Last Judgment*, Bartsch states that a portrait of Michelangelo is included in that print, "enclosed in an oval placed at the top between the two arches." In other words, it is a much smaller image than the one under discussion here. That portrait (fig. 57), made by an anonymous engraver, began to be published with the plates of *The Last Judgment* by the Rossi. In Bartsch's listing of Ghisi's portrait, he does not mention *The Last Judgment*. D'Arco clearly says it is the frontispiece, however, as do Pittaluga in *L'incisione italiana nel cinquecento*, p. 190; Benvenuto Disertori in *L'incisione italiana* (Florence: Barberà, 1931), p. 33; Rotili in *Fortuna di Michelangelo*, p. 77; Perina in *Mantova: Le arti*, III, p. 677; and Massari. Bellini also reports the information, but seems to have some doubts about it.
4. See no. 9, note 8.



Fig. 57. *Portrait of Michelangelo*. Anonymous engraving. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1931. 31.106.72

40 Emblem of Lucrezia Gonzaga

Before 1566

Platemark: ca. 96 × 74 mm.

State:

Only state. Ghisi's monogram in lower center, on its side. On the banner in the laurel tree: "NESSVN MI TOCCHI" (Let no one touch me), a quotation from a sonnet by Petrarch.

Only one impression known to us, now in a private collection.

Copies (?):

1. By Giacomo Franco or Girolamo Porro. Engraving, 88 × 110 mm. In Girolamo Ruscelli, *Le imprese illustri con espositioni e discorsi* (Venice: Francesco Rampazetto, 1566), p. 323 (fig. 58).
2. By Battista Pittoni. Etching, in reverse, 118 × 160 mm. Nagler XI.397.6; LeBlanc III.212.4. In Battista Pittoni, *Imprese di diversi principi, duchi, signori, e d'altri personaggi, et huomini illustri* (Venice: Giovanni Rossi, 1566), II, pl. 49 (fig. 59).

Reference: Mariette, p. 372; unknown to Bartsch

Lucrezia Gonzaga (1522–1576), the daughter of Pirro Gonzaga, Lord of Bozzolo, was known in her day for the letters she wrote on behalf of her husband, Giampaolo Manfrone, who was imprisoned, possibly in Turkey. She wrote to princes, the pope, and finally the sultan of Turkey, but to no avail; Manfrone died in prison. Lucrezia's letters were published in Venice by Gualtero Scotto in 1552. Bettinelli and others thought the letters were written by Ortensio Lando, a popular satirist, who edited the volume, but since at least the mid-nineteenth century scholars have thought that they were, in fact, written by Lucrezia.¹

The emblem—a white doe wearing a collar of diamonds and topazes, standing under a laurel, with the motto "Nessun mi tocchi" (from a sonnet by Petrarch)—signifies, according to Ruscelli, prudence, wisdom, purity, chastity, and steadfastness.²

Stylistically, Ghisi's engraving could have been made at any time between the late 1550s and the mid-1570s. In



40. Emblem of Lucrezia Gonzaga. Private collection, USA

1566, two emblem books were published with Lucrezia's emblem included: Ruscelli's *Le imprese illustri*, published in Venice by Francesco Rampazetto with engravings by Giacomo Franco or Girolamo Porro (fig. 58), and Battista Pittoni's *Imprese di diversi principi*, also published in Venice, with etchings by Pittoni (fig. 59) (see *Copies*, above). We have, perhaps somewhat arbitrarily, put Ghisi's print before these two renditions, as it is the strongest image. The depictions of the doe, the tree, and the banderole are similar in all three prints, although in the Pittoni the doe faces right. As the two books are dated in the same year, it is impossible to know which appeared first. If the Ghisi preceded both, as we assume, then the emblems in the books are both copies of Ghisi's engraving (the Pittoni reversed); if not, then one is a copy of the other, and Ghisi's print is also a copy of one of them.

The purpose for which Ghisi's plate was made is unknown. It is most likely that it was intended for a book, but it was never published in any emblem book,

so far as we can discover. Perhaps such a book was planned and for some reason never published. A volume of poems in praise of Lucrezia Gonzaga was published in Bologna in 1565 by Giovanni Rossi.³ Ghisi may possibly have made the print for this book; the style of the print is compatible with this date, and its size, about half that of the page in each dimension, would have been appropriate, but the only copies we have located, in the Newberry Library in Chicago and the Yale University Library, do not include the plate.⁴

Although Mariette lists three devices in ornamental cartouches, all signed by Ghisi, this is the only emblem of Giorgio's that we have seen.⁵

Notes:

1. It has been possible to find only scattered biographical information about Lucrezia Gonzaga, some of it conflicting. For example, Bettinelli says Manfrone was imprisoned by the duke of Ferrara; Grendler says he was imprisoned in Turkey. The earliest reference we have to Lucrezia is in a letter of 1612 from Eugenio Cagnani to Duke Francesco Gonzaga, transcribed in Emilio Faccio, *Mantova: Le lettere*, 2 vols. (Mantua: Istituto Carlo d'Arco per la storia di Mantova, 1962), II, p. 617: "Oh grandezza di questa Serenissima Casa! sino le donne di così generosa famiglia nascono con l'arte del ben dire, come chiaro si può conoscere nella persona della sig. Lucrezia Gonzaga, vedendosi di quella alle stampe moltissime opere di poesia e d'altro e in particolare un volume di sue lettere dalle quali è facile comprendere di quanto valore ella fosse." Other sources are: Saverio Bettinelli, *Delle lettere e delle arte mantovane* (Mantua: L'Erede di Alberto Pazzoni, 1774), p. 90; Pietro Leopoldo Ferri, *Biblioteca femminile italiana* (Padua: Crescini, 1842), p. 189; Gaetano Melzi, *Dizionario di opere anonime e pseudonime di scrittori italiani, o come sia aventi relazione all'Italia*, 3 vols. (Milan: L. di Giacomo Pirola, 1848-59), I, p. 468; *Nouvelle biographie générale, depuis les temps les plus reculés jusqu'à nos jours*, ed. Dr. Hoefer. 46 vols. in 23 (Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1857), XXI, col. 235; Paul F. Grendler, *Critics of the Italian World, 1530-1560: Anton Francesco Doni, Nicolò Franco, and Ortensio Lando* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1969), pp. 35, 74.
2. Girolamo Ruscelli, *Le imprese illustri con espositioni e discorsi* (Venice: Francesco Rampazetto, 1566), pp. 323-27. See also Jacopo Gelli, *Divise, motti, imprese, di famiglie e personaggi italiani* (Milan: Ulrico Hoepli, 1916), no. 1129.
3. *Rime di diversi nobilissimi, et eccellentissimi autori in lode dell'illustrissima signora, la signora donna Lucretia Gonzaga marchesana*.
4. The copy at Yale measures 213 × 147 mm. Grateful acknowledgment is made to Lucille Wehner of the Newberry Library and Mary Angelotti of the Beinecke Rare Book Collection of the Yale University Library for providing information about this book.
5. Mariette also lists as by Ghisi "the arms of the Duke of Mantua supported by genii," which he says is not signed (p. 374).



Fig. 58. *Emblem of Lucrezia Gonzaga*. Engraving by Giacomo Franco or Girolamo Porro. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1945. 45.9.1, p. 273



Fig. 59. *Emblem of Lucrezia Gonzaga*. Etching by Battista Pittoni. Rare Books and Special Collections Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

41 *Hercules Resting from His Labors*

After Giulio Romano

1567

Platemark: 272/273 × 400/401 mm.

States:

i: Unfinished and before letters. The far landscape (except the buildings on the right), the tops of the farthestmost trees, and Hercules' head in light outline or tentative drypoint indications.

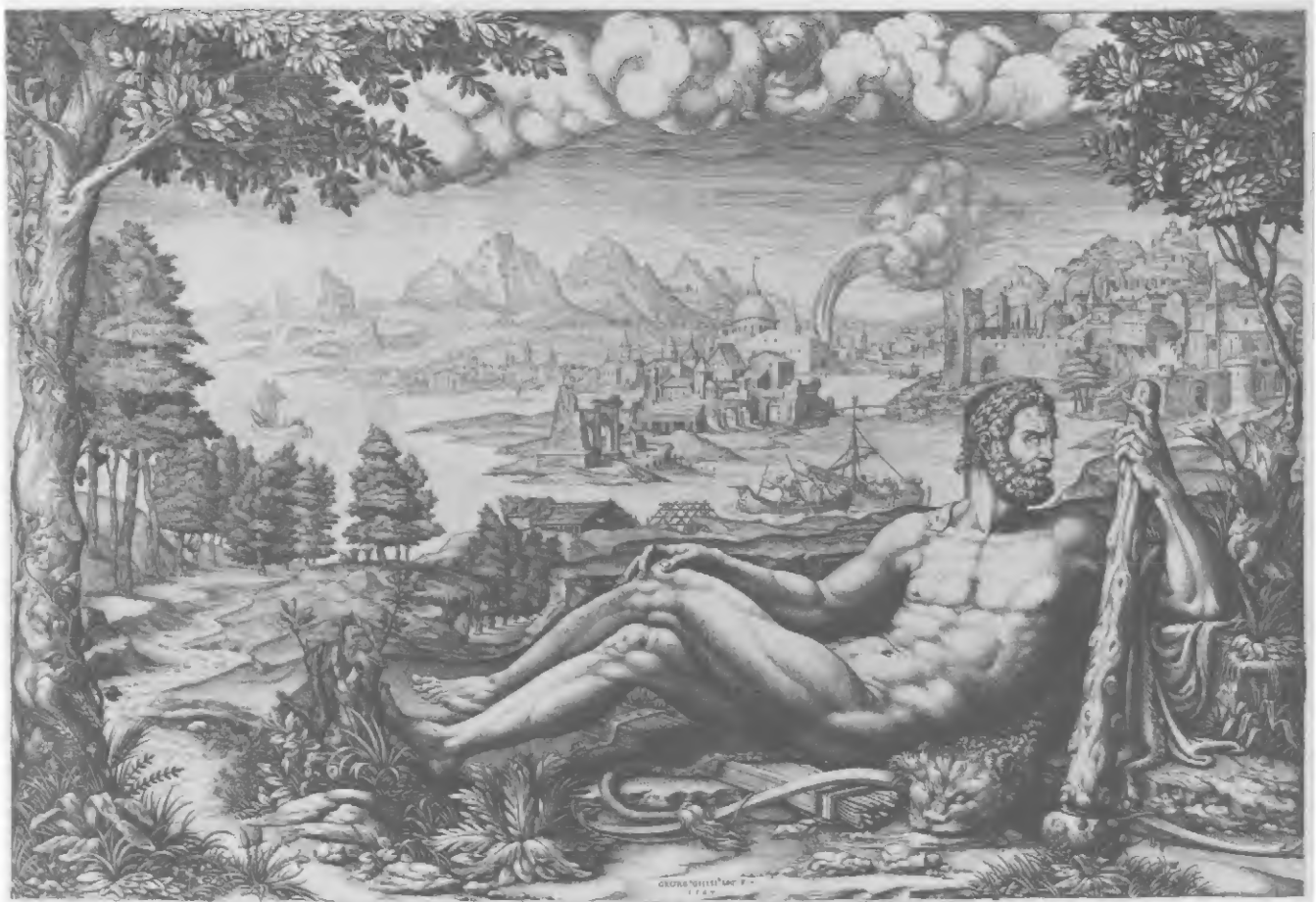
We have seen only one impression in this state, at the Bibliothèque Nationale (Eb. 14.a), very rich and clear.

ii: Finished. Added at bottom, slightly right of center: "GEORG⁹ GHISI⁹ MANT:F./ 1567". A light borderline nearly all around, 268 × 394 mm.

Watermarks: nos. 39 or 40 and 41.

Reference:

Bartsch 56



41. *Hercules Resting from His Labors*, state ii. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Elisha Whittelsey Collection, The Elisha Whittelsey Fund, 1977. 1977.530.2

Like *The Three Fates* (no. 25), this engraving reproduces a figure depicted in bas-relief in the Sala degli Stucchi of the Palazzo del Te in Mantua, designed by Giulio Romano.¹ Hercules (fig. 60) and Mars, both seated, are the central figures of the lunettes at each end of the barrel-vaulted room.

The landscape is typical of Giorgio (see, for example, nos. 14, 16, or 22). Moreover, leaving aside *Allegory of Life*, it is the most extensive and elaborate of his added landscapes, with boats with agitated oarsmen in the middle ground, ruins and contemporary buildings farther back, and jagged mountains in the distance. Emanating from a point just right of center, near the far side of the town, is what seems to be an explosion. The significance of this remains unclear, though it may have been merely a whimsical addition on Ghisi's part (see also *Cupid and Psyche*, no. 50). The explosion, and the prominence of the two boats, larger than scale, behind Hercules—one of which, at left, appears to be moving rapidly—may have alluded to a contemporary event, but the topography itself is not identifiable, and if an allusion was intended, its meaning is now obscure.

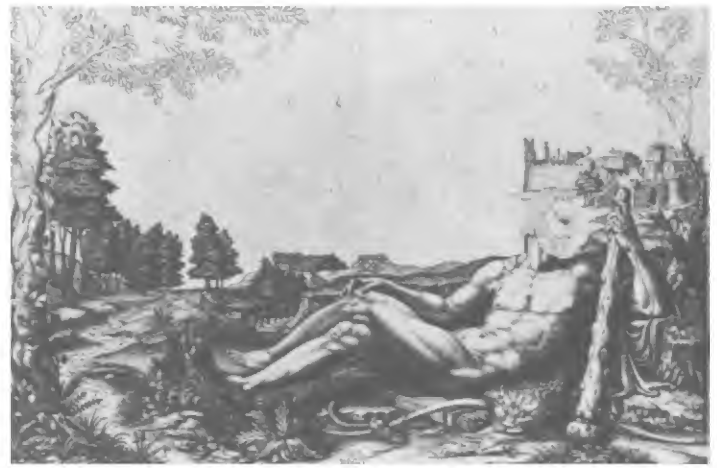
A drawing by Giulio Romano for the stucco in the Palazzo del Te is in the Musée des Beaux-Arts, Alençon (fig. 61).² Since the figure of Hercules in this drawing corresponds in size to that in the engraving, this could have been the drawing from which Ghisi worked.

This is Ghisi's only dated print between *Allegory of Life*, made in 1561 (no. 28), and *Cupid and Psyche* of 1574 (no. 50). In 1567 Ghisi was still in northern Europe, although his precise location is unclear (see Introduction). The watermarks for this print indicate that the paper used came from France or the Netherlands. The presence of both Giulio's drawing and the unique unfinished proof (see illustration) in France are evidence, even if circumstantial, that the print was made in France.

Notes:

1. Verheyen, *Palazzo del Te*, pp. 35–36, 123–26.

2. Inventory no. 865–1–18, pen and bistre, 166 × 285 mm.



41. *Hercules Resting from His Labors*, state i. Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris



Fig. 60. *Hercules Resting from His Labors*. Stucco after a design by Giulio Romano, Sala degli Stucchi, Palazzo del Te, Mantua. Photo: Calzolari, Mantua



Fig. 61. *Hercules Resting from His Labors*. Drawing by Giulio Romano. Musée des Beaux-Arts, Alençon



42. *Venus and Adonis*, state ii (trimmed impression). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Elisha Whittelsey Collection, The Elisha Whittelsey Fund, 1953. 53.522.28

After Teodoro Ghisi About 1570

Platemark: 318/325 × 223/228 mm.

States:

i: Before any publisher's address. On a tablet lower left: "TEODORO GHISI IN". Giorgio's monogram to the right of this, over a small stone. Venus's head in part profile, turned three-quarters away. Her hips bare. Her right thigh extends to the edge of the ledge, the knee on a vertical line with Cupid's right heel. Her shin line is a straight vertical. Scalloped edges on both sides of the drape on her left thigh. A very light borderline visible in a few places, just inside the platemark.

We have seen only one impression in this state, at the Philadelphia Museum of Art.¹

ii: Venus's right thigh shortened so that a portion of the top of the ledge is visible to its left. The left thigh shortened and the shin and calf lengthened and angled toward the left. The drape on her left thigh shortened, the scalloped edge visible only at the left.

Watermarks: nos. 38 and 58.

iii: Venus's head turned away so that her facial features are not visible. A drape, angled upward to the right side of her waist, covers her buttocks.

We have seen only one impression in this state, in a private collection.

iv: Beneath the tablet at bottom left: "*Nic. uan aelst formis Romae*" in italics.

Impressions are very good to worn.

Watermark: no. 68.

v: Van Aelst's address partially erased; "*formis Romae*" remains. The shading lines on the ground at lower left corner, which extended 15 mm. into the print, now partially erased, extending 7 mm. and barely visible.

vi: Van Aelst's address almost completely erased, but traces usually visible.

vii: In lower right corner: "Gio. Giacomo de Rossi le stampa in Roma alla/ Pace con Privilegio del S. Pontifice.". Retouched with burin all over. Trees behind heads shaded with heavy vertical lines.

Impressions are light and worn, except for retouched areas.

Watermark: no. 49.

The plate was in the Calcografia Nazionale until 1823, when it was destroyed as obscene by order of Pope Leo XII, according to Massari.

References:

Bartsch 42, Heller-Andresen 13, Massari 204

Teodoro Ghisi (1536–1601), the younger brother of Giorgio, made the design for this engraving, which we date at the end of the 1560s or early in the 1570s, shortly after Giorgio's return to Mantua. A fragment of a drawing of the composition, attributed to Teodoro, is in the collection of the dukes of Devonshire at Chatsworth (fig. 62).² The figures correspond in size with those of the engraving, and the Chatsworth drawing may well be a fragment of the one from which Giorgio worked.

A painting of Venus and Adonis "by the hand of Teodoro Ghisi" was in the Gonzaga inventory of 1627.³ A painting now in the museum at Nantes was catalogued in 1953 as a replica of the original Teodoro.⁴ Perina, the modern scholar most knowledgeable concerning Teodoro's work, agrees with this opinion.⁵

The goddess Venus fell in love with Adonis, the beautiful son born of Myrrha from her incestuous love for her father, Cinyras (see also *Venus and the Rose*, no. 22). As Ovid tells it, Venus warned Adonis against hunting animals that might harm him, such as the wild boar—upon the decapitated head of which Adonis rests his



42. *Venus and Adonis*, state i. Philadelphia Museum of Art; Purchased, Lola Downin Peck Fund

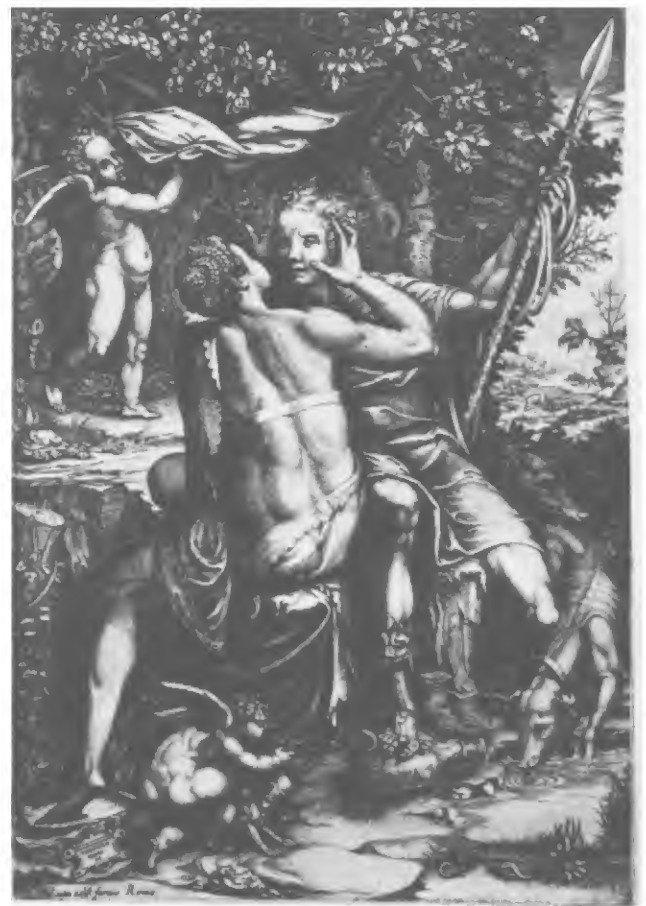


Fig. 62. *Putto and Rabbit*. Fragment of a drawing by Teodoro Ghisi. Devonshire Collection, Chatsworth. Reproduced by permission of the Trustees of the Chatsworth Settlement. Photo: Courtauld Institute of Art, London

right foot in this print: "Do not attack those animals which nature has given weapons, lest your thirst for glory may cost me dear" (*Metamorphoses* x, ll. 547ff.).⁶ Adonis scorned her warnings, however, and eventually was killed by a wild boar; the scene of his death is visible in the background to the right.⁷

Notes:

1. Grateful acknowledgment to Rose-Helen Breinin for bringing the existence of this impression to our attention.
2. Inventory no. 192.
3. Luzio, *Galleria dei Gonzaga*, p. 96.
4. Luc Benoist, *Ville de Nantes, Musée des Beaux-Arts, catalogue et guide* (Nantes: Musée des Beaux-Arts, 1953), p. 113, no. 68. Oil on canvas, 600 × 500 mm.
5. In Franchini et al., *La scienza a corte*, p. 241.
6. Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, trans. Rolfe Humphries (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1955), p. 252.
7. See Rose, *Greek Mythology*, pp. 124–25, for ramifications of the story of Adonis.



42. *Venus and Adonis*, state iv. The British Museum, London. Photo: Warburg Institute, London

43 *Angelica and Medoro*

After Teodoro Ghisi
About 1570



43. *Angelica and Medoro*, state i. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Elisha Whittelsey Collection, The Elisha Whittelsey Fund, 1958. 58.642.8

Platemark: 296/298 × 208/211 mm.

States:

- i: Before any publisher's address. Giorgio's monogram to left of Medoro's right ankle. On a tablet under Medoro's left foot: "TEODORO/ GHISI IN." A light borderline nearly all around, 292 × 207 mm., but no borderline to the right of the Teodoro tablet and no connecting lines at the bottom right corner.

Watermark: no. 13.

- ii: Added at lower right corner: "ANT. LAFRERI". The shading at bottom right corner, extending in an arc to 3 mm. from the bottom borderline in the first state, now partially erased to 5 mm. from borderline.

- iii: Lafreri's name erased. Borderline now completed, forming a right angle at each corner.

Watermark: no. 13.

- iv: Added in lower right corner: "Gio. Iacomo Rossi alla pace in Roma".

The plate was in the Calcografia Nazionale until 1823, when it was probably destroyed by order of Pope Leo XII, according to Massari.

Copy:

Both Bartsch and LeBlanc mention an anonymous, smaller copy, in the same direction, but we have not seen it.

References:

Bartsch 62, LeBlanc 46, Heller-Andresen 20, Massari 205

This print, based on a composition by Teodoro Ghisi, was probably made around the same time as *Venus and Adonis* (no. 42), which we have dated to the late 1560s or early 1570s. The scene illustrates an episode in Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso*: the beautiful Princess Angelica of Cathay, wooed by Orlando, falls in love with the page Medoro, eventually leading to Orlando's madness. Ariosto's work was rendered into English in the sixteenth century, in a translation that still best captures the original quality:

Amid these joyes (as great as joyes might be)
Their manner was on ev'rie wall within,
Without on ev'rie stone or shadie tree,
To grave their names with bodkin, knife or pin:
Angelica and Medore you plaine might see
(So great a glorie had they both therein),
Angelica and Medore in ev'rie place
With sundrie knots and wreaths they enterlace.¹

The Ghisi composition may well be the first rendering of this subject in visual art. Ariosto's poem, first

written in 1516, was given its final revision and published in 1532, and over one hundred editions were published in Italian alone before the end of the century.² It was not until 1577, however, that this scene was illustrated in one of these editions.³ The small woodcut, horizontal in format, shows the lovers side by side, facing front. If, as we believe, Ghisi made this print in the early 1570s at the latest, then it clearly predates the woodcut. In any case, its influence was far more widespread, and it was closely imitated in compositions by Aegidius Sadeler, Carlo Caliari, and others.⁴

The article on Teodoro Ghisi in Thieme-Becker⁵ states that a painting of this subject by Teodoro was in the Cabinet Braamcamp in Amsterdam in 1765, but this painting has now been lost, and no other drawing or painting connected with the composition is known to us.

Another version:

Signed "AF". Etching, in the same direction, 195 × 150 mm. Massari 206.

Notes:

1. Lodovico Ariosto, *Orlando Furioso*, *Translated into English Heroical Verse by Sir John Harington*. 1591. Ed. Robert McNulty (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972), p. 212. The English translation numbers this bk. XIX, v. 28, although it is bk. XIX, v. 36, in Italian editions of the work.

2. *Catalogo della mostra bibliografica, edizioni in lingua italiana dell'Orlando Furioso, traduzioni, fonti e derivazioni* (Reggio Emilia: Ente provinciale per il turismo, 1951).

3. Venice: Dehuchino; see Rensselaer W. Lee, *Names on Trees: Ariosto into Art* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1976), p. 32.

4. Lee, *Names on Trees*, pp. 37 and 98, note 73.

5. Ulrich Thieme and Felix Becker, eds. *Allgemeines Lexikon der bildenden Künstler von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart*, 37 vols. (Leipzig: Wilhelm Engelmann and later E. A. Seemann, 1909–50), XIII, p. 565, article signed "L. B."

44 *The Prophet Joel*

After Michelangelo Early 1570s

Platemark: 562/569 × 416/420 mm.

States:

- i: Unfinished and before Ghisi's monogram. Architectural elements outlined only, or missing. The head of the reclining male figure at upper right, the feet of the child at bottom center, and the sphere on which he stands outlined only. On a tablet below Joel's feet: "IOEL".

We have seen six impressions in this state, all very fine and dark, at: the Albertina (It.I.30); the British Museum (C 54); Budapest; Chatsworth (vol. III, p. 58); the Teylers Museum, Haarlem; and the collection of Leo Steinberg.

Watermark: no. 18.

- ii: Finished. Before Ghisi's monogram and the publisher's address.

Impressions are very fine and dark. Most impressions in this state are printed on two sheets joined horizontally.

Watermark: no. 33.

- iii: Added on the sphere beneath the standing figure: "G.M.F. 1549/ Petrus Fachettus Mātua = / nus formis Romae".

We have seen only three impressions in this state, at the Bibliothèque Nationale (AA4, supp.); the Bibliothèque Royale, Brussels; and The Metropolitan Museum of Art.

Watermark: no. 55.

- iv: Replacing Facchettus's address: "Nic^o uan aelst for." The "9" of the date changed to "o".

Impressions range from fine to late and worn.

Watermarks: nos. 21, 34, 57, 61, and 55 (?).

- v: Fig leaves added to nude figures.

The fig leaves were added after May 1823 by order of Pope Leo XII, according to Massari.

The plate is in the Calcografia Nazionale, inventory no. 194.

References:

Bartsch 18, Heller-Andresen 7, Massari 185

For discussion of the series of Prophets and Sibyls, see pp. 164–65.



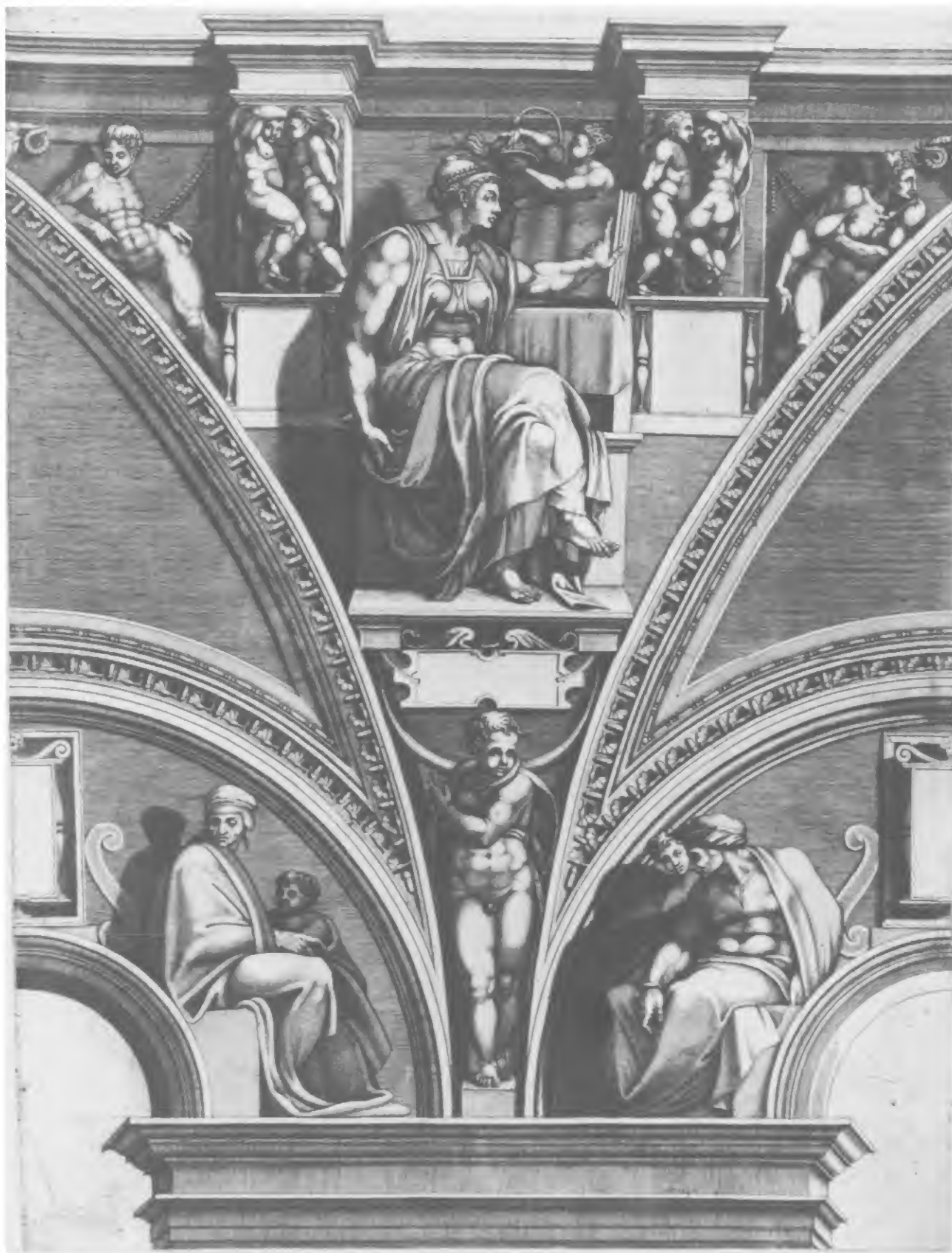
44. *The Prophet Joel*, state iii. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Dr. and Mrs. Goodwin M. Breinin, 1984. 1984.1107.1



44. *The Prophet Joel* (top sheet), state i. Collection of Leo Steinberg



Fig. 63. *The Prophet Joel*. Fresco by Michelangelo, Sistine Chapel, Vatican, Rome. Photo: Art Resource, New York



45. *The Eritrean Sibyl, state i.* The British Museum, London

45 *The Eritrean Sibyl*

After Michelangelo
Early 1570s

Platemark: 563/572 × 432/436 mm.

States:

i: Before all letters.

Impressions are fine and dark, with many scratches. Most impressions in this state are printed on two sheets joined horizontally.

Watermarks: nos. 33 and 55 (?).

ii: Added on the frieze at the bottom under the cornice: "MICHAEL ANGELVS INVENT. ET PINXIT. GEORGIVS MANTVANVS FECIT Nic^o Van alst formis Romae".

Impressions are usually light and unevenly printed, on one sheet.

Watermark: no. 57.

iii: Added, on the tablet under the Sibyl's feet: "IOANES IACOBVS/ DE RVBEIS FORMIS ROMAE.:", then a space, and at bottom of the tablet: "alla pace".

Impressions range from very good to worn.

Watermark: no. 61.

iv: The letters on the Sibyl's tablet have been changed to: "IOANES IACOBVS/ DE RVBEIS FORMIS ROMAE/ ad Templum S^a.M^a de Pace cum/ Privil. Sum. Pont.".

Impressions are light and worn.

Watermarks: nos. 21 and 34.

v: Fig leaves added to nude figures.

The fig leaves were added after May 1823 by order of Pope Leo XII, according to Massari.

The plate is in the Calcografia Nazionale, inventory no. 191.

References:

Bartsch 21, Heller-Andresen 7, Massari 188



Fig. 64. *The Eritrean Sibyl*. Fresco by Michelangelo, Sistine Chapel, Vatican, Rome. Photo: Art Resource, New York

For discussion of the series of Prophets and Sibyls, see pp. 164–65.



46. *The Prophet Ezekiel*, state iii. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Elisha Whittelsey Collection, The Elisha Whittelsey Fund, 1984. 1984.1108.2

46 *The Prophet Ezekiel*

After Michelangelo
Early 1570s

Platemark: 558 × 442/445 mm.

States:

- i: Before all letters. At the top of the arch behind the woman with the standing child there is a horizontal crack in the plate, heavily inked, ca. 48 mm. long.

Impressions are fine and dark. Most impressions in this state are printed on two sheets joined horizontally.

Watermark: no. 33.

- ii: Added beneath the seated figure at lower left: “.G.MF. 1549/ Petrus fachtetus/ Mantuanus formis”.

We have seen only two impressions in this state, both very good to fine, at the Bibliothèque Royale, Brussels, and the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam (printed in brown ink).

Watermark: no. 55 (?).

- iii: Replacing Facchetti's address: “Nic^o uan aelst/ for. Romae”. The “9” of the date changed to “o”.

Impressions range from fine and dark to good but light.

Watermark: no. 57.

- iv: Added at lower left corner: “Gio Giacomo Rossi Formi Roma alla Pace”. The crack now extends ca. 68 mm. to and along the inside edge of the arch.

Impressions show some to much wear.

Watermarks: nos. 21, 34, and 61.

- v: Fig leaves added to nude figures.

The fig leaves were added after May 1823 by order of Pope Leo XII, according to Massari.

The plate is in the Calcografia Nazionale, inventory no. 195.

References:

Bartsch 22, Heller-Andresen 7, Massari 189



Fig. 65. *The Prophet Ezekiel*. Fresco by Michelangelo, Sistine Chapel, Vatican, Rome. Photo: Art Resource, New York

For discussion of the series of Prophets and Sibyls, see pp. 164–65.



47. *The Persian Sibyl*, state i. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Dr. and Mrs. Goodwin M. Breinin, 1984. 1984.1107.2

47 *The Persian Sibyl*

After Michelangelo
Early 1570s

Platemark: 570/573 × 432/434 mm. (bottom), 444 mm. (top).

States:

- i: Before Ghisi's monogram, and before any publisher's address. On a tablet below the feet of the Sibyl: "PERSICHA". A tapered blank area beyond the printed surface at the right edge, ca. 10 mm. wide at top.

Impressions are fine and dark. Most impressions in this state are printed on two sheets joined horizontally.

Watermark: no. 33.

- ii: Added before the seated figure at lower left: ".G.MF. 1540./ Nic^o uan aelst for./ Romae".

Impressions range from fine to late and worn.

Watermarks: nos. 21, 34, and 61.

- iii: Fig leaves added to nude figures.

The fig leaves were added after May 1823 by order of Pope Leo XII, according to Massari.

The plate is in the Calcografia Nazionale, inventory no. 192.

References:

Bartsch 19, Heller-Andresen 7, Massari 186

For discussion of the series of Prophets and Sibyls, see pp. 164–65.



Fig. 66. *The Persian Sibyl*. Fresco by Michelangelo, Sistine Chapel, Vatican, Rome. Photo: Art Resource, New York



48. *The Prophet Jeremiah, state iii*. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Elisha Whittelsey Collection, The Elisha Whittelsey Fund, 1984. 1984.1108.3

48 *The Prophet Jeremiah*

After Michelangelo
Early 1570s

Platemark: 569/572 × 433/437 mm.

States:

- i: Before Ghisi's monogram, and before any publisher's address. On a tablet beneath the feet of the Prophet: "HIEREMIAS".

Impressions are fine and dark. Most impressions in this state are printed on two sheets joined horizontally.

Watermarks: nos. 18 and 33.

- ii: Added on the pedestal below the standing child at bottom: "G.MF. / Petrus Fachettus Mantuan Formis Romae".

We have seen only one impression in this state, at the Bibliothèque Nationale (AA4, supp.). It is fine and dark, printed on one sheet.

- iii: Facchetti's address and Ghisi's monogram erased and replaced by "Nic^o Van aelst formis/Romae".

Impressions range from fine to late and worn.

Watermarks: nos. 21, 34, 57, and 61.

- iv: Fig leaves added to nude figures.

The fig leaves were added after May 1823 by order of Pope Leo XII, according to Massari.

The plate is in the Calcografia Nazionale, inventory no. 196.

References:

Bartsch 17, Heller-Andresen 7, Massari 184

For discussion of the series of Prophets and Sibyls, see pp. 164–65.



Fig. 67. *The Prophet Jeremiah*. Fresco by Michelangelo, Sistine Chapel, Vatican, Rome. Photo: Art Resource, New York



49. *The Delphic Sibyl*, state i. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Dr. and Mrs. Goodwin M. Breinin, 1984.
1984.1107.3

49 *The Delphic Sibyl*

After Michelangelo
Early 1570s

Platemark: 562/566 × 431/433 mm.

States:

- i: Before Ghisi's monogram, and before any publisher's address. On a tablet beneath the feet of the Sibyl: "DELPHICA".

Impressions are fine and dark. Most impressions in this state are printed on two sheets joined horizontally.

Watermark: no. 33.

- ii: Added beneath the seated figure at bottom right: ".G.MF 1549./ Petrus fachetus Mantuanus for./ Romae".

We have seen only one impression in this state, a fine, dark impression at the Bibliothèque Nationale (AA4, supp.).

- iiia: Replacing Facchettus's address: "Nic^o uan aelst/ for. Romae." The "9" of the date changed to "o".

Impressions are very good.

Watermarks: nos. 21, 57, and 61.

- iiib: The plate now cracked at left, with portions of the horizontal crack showing at the man's shoulder and neck and from the tip of the child's head.

Impressions range from very good to late.

- iv: Fig leaves added to nude figures.

The fig leaves were added after May 1823 by order of Pope Leo XII, according to Massari.

The plate is in the Calcografia Nazionale, inventory no. 193.

References:

Bartsch 20, Heller-Andresen 7, Massari 187



Fig. 68. *The Delphic Sibyl*. Fresco by Michelangelo, Sistine Chapel, Vatican, Rome. Photo: Art Resource, New York

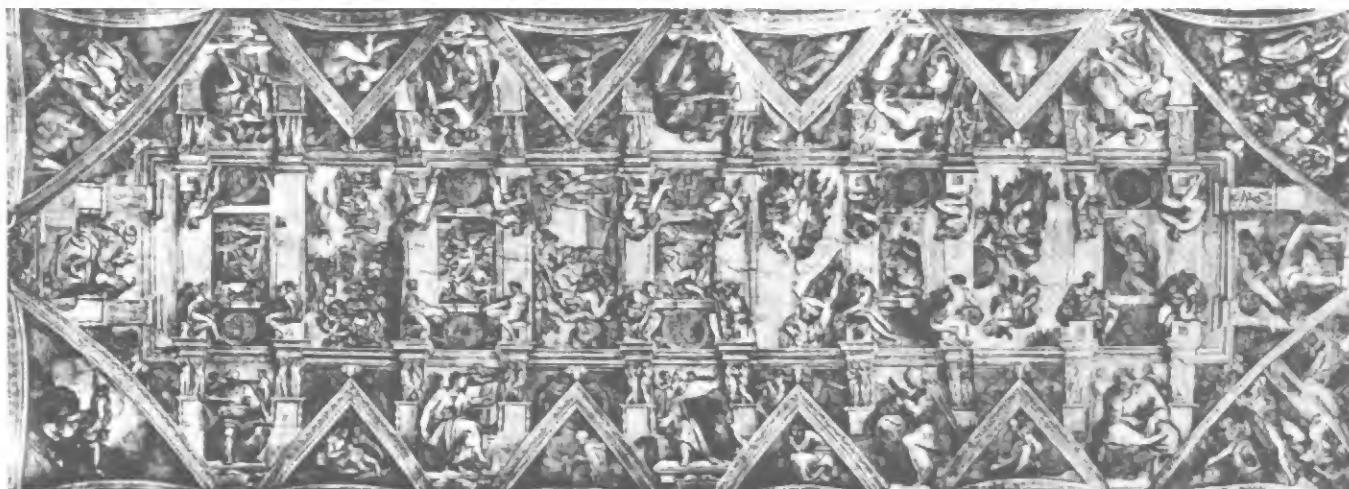


Fig. 69. *The Ceiling of the Sistine Chapel*. Fresco by Michelangelo, Vatican, Rome. Photo: Art Resource, New York

This series of prints reproduces, with great fidelity, six of the twelve Seers (seven Prophets and five Sibyls) in pendentives at the lower edges of the Sistine Chapel ceiling, painted by Michelangelo between 1508 and 1512. The ceiling shows five Seers along each side, as well as Zachariah at the entrance end and Jonah at the altar end (fig. 69).¹ Ghisi's series shows the five along the left, that is, the south, wall—Joel, the Eritrean Sibyl, Ezekiel, the Persian Sibyl, and Jeremiah—and the figure closest to the entrance on the north wall, the Delphic Sibyl.

The dating of these prints is particularly problematic, perhaps more so than for any of Ghisi's other compositions. The date of 1540 that appeared on four of the plates (*The Prophet Joel*, *The Prophet Ezekiel*, *The Persian Sibyl*, and *The Delphic Sibyl*) in the van Aelst edition—and which remains there—is clearly spurious. At that date Ghisi's engraving style had not developed to the level evident in these prints, as can be seen by comparing these to his earliest works (see nos. 1–6). Furthermore, van Aelst was not active as a publisher until the 1570s (see Publishers). Finally, the van Aelst edition is obviously later than the Facchettus edition, which is dated 1549—although that date, too, is false.

The address of Pietro Facchettus appears on only four of the prints (*Joel*, *Ezekiel*, *The Prophet Jeremiah*, and *The Delphic Sibyl*), but he surely published all six. The date 1549 appears on three of the prints with his address. Although it is tempting to trust this date and posit that these are the prints that led Hieronymus Cock to invite Ghisi to Antwerp (see Introduction),² and also to speculate that the death of Paul III was the reason the series was not completed,³ the masterful style of the series, compared with the prints of the early 1550s (see nos. 11–16), compels us to date them still later. Moreover, Facchettus was only fourteen in 1549, and it is impossi-

ble that he would have been established as a publisher by then (see Publishers). The reason for the false dating on the prints published by Facchettus and van Aelst can only be conjectured. It may have to do with rivalry among publishers and a desire to add value to the prints by claiming that they were the earliest prints made after Michelangelo's Sistine ceiling.

Vasari, in his 1568 edition, writes: "... the four Prophets of the Chapel and other scenes and drawings have been engraved and published, but executed so badly, that I think it well to be silent as to the names of those engravers and printers."⁴ It seems unlikely, given their quality, that he would have described Ghisi's prints in this way, and much more probable that he was referring to Adamo Scultori's series of seventy-three prints of the prophets, sibyls, ancestors, and ignudi, which are crudely rendered and have lost all monumentality.⁵ Just a few lines earlier, Vasari mentions Ghisi's *Last Judgment* (see no. 9), and it seems probable that he would have also mentioned Ghisi's majestic prints of the Seers if they had existed.⁶

Another puzzling circumstance concerning these prints is that there was an edition, presumably published by Giorgio himself, that does not have his name or monogram. These are not simply working proofs; we have seen from four to six impressions of each of them. It is not unusual to find an edition of Ghisi's prints before any publisher's address, but this appears to be the only edition of any prints without the engraver's name or monogram.

Finally, the watermarks strongly indicate that the prints were made in Italy in the last third of the sixteenth century. It seems clear from all the evidence that Ghisi made these prints after his return to Italy, and we date them in the early 1570s.

Vasari writes that Leonardo Cungi made drawings of these figures, which passed into the hands of Perino del Vaga, and which, at Perino's death, were sold by his heirs.⁷ Zani quotes a *Descrizione delle cappelle pontificie e cardinalizie* as stating that "a good part [of these drawings by Cungi] were engraved by Giorgio Mantovano."⁸ Perino died in Rome in 1547, and it is possible that these drawings came into Ghisi's hands a quarter of a century later, but without more evidence this question cannot be resolved.⁹

Other versions:

1. *The Prophet Ezekiel*. By Cherubino Alberti. Engraving, 427 × 272 mm. Bartsch xvii.77.77.
2. *The Persian Sibyl*. By Cherubino Alberti. Engraving, 427 × 272 mm. Bartsch xvii.77.74.
3. *The Prophet Jeremiah*. Anonymous. Engraving, 295 × 224 mm. With "HIEREMIAS/ROMAE ANT^O LAFRERII" on a shield at bottom center. This version does not include the figures below the Prophet.
4. *The Delphic Sibyl*. By Cherubino Alberti. Engraving, 427 × 272 mm. Bartsch xvii.77.75.

Notes:

1. Of the voluminous literature on the Sistine Chapel, Salvini et al., *The Sistine Chapel*, has both a thorough summary of the scholarship to date and lavish illustrations, including details, drawings, diagrams, and related material.
2. See Zerner, "Ghisi et la gravure maniériste," p. 32, and Massari, p. 128.
3. See L. Price Amerson, Jr., ed., *The Fortuna of Michelangelo*, exhib. cat. (Sacramento, Calif.: The E. B. Crocker Art Gallery, 1975), p. 13.
4. Vasari, *Lives* (de Vere), p. 1,259; (Milanesi) v, p. 431.
5. Bartsch xv.426.27–98; Passavant vi, p. 140.
6. See note 4.
7. Vasari, *Lives* (de Vere), p. 1,352; (Milanesi) v, p. 632.
8. Zani, *Enciclopedia metodico critico-ragionata*, pt. 2, iv, p. 164.
9. Massari (p. 128) dismisses the possibility, citing Zanetti's reasoning (in *Le premier siècle de la calcographie*, p. 487, no. 1322) that the name of the draughtsman does not appear on the prints, but this does not seem conclusive to us.



50. *Cupid and Psyche*, state i. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Elisha Whittelsey Collection, The Elisha Whittelsey Fund, 1949. 49.97.469

After Giulio Romano

1573–74

Platemarks: States i–iii, 356/364 × 232/234 mm. State iv, 319/324 × 232/234 mm.

States:

- i: Before any publisher's address. On the tablet, lower right, at left of the foot of the couch: "IVLIVS RO./IN.". Beneath that, toward the center, Giorgio's monogram and the date 1574, the "4" over a "3". A fine ruled borderline ca. 1 mm. inside the platemark.

Watermarks: nos. 2 and 38.

- ii: Added at lower right: "Petrus Fachettus mantuanus formis/ Romae", the letters beginning below the date and extending to the corner.

We know of only two impressions in this state, at the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, and in a private collection.

Watermark: no. 54.

- iii: Fachettus's address erased and replaced with "Nicolo van aelst for. Romae". The drapery on which Psyche rests drawn up to cover her buttocks.

Watermarks: nos. 61 and 68.

- iv: The plate reduced in height ca. 40 mm. at the top. Erased from the van Aelst line: "for. Romae". The borderline at bottom right corner also removed. No borderline across the top of the image.

The plate was in the Calcografia Nazionale until May 1823, when it was destroyed by order of Pope Leo XII, according to Massari.

References:

Bartsch 45, Passavant 45, Massari 230

In this print, Cupid and Psyche, reclining on a couch, are crowned with laurel wreaths by a hora. Their child, Voluptas, is between them. Behind the couch, Ceres pours water from a pitcher onto Cupid's left hand, which rests

on a dish held by Juno. In the middle ground, satyrs prepare a sacrifice before a male statue. To the left beyond the buildings in the distance, a huge funnel of smoke billows up from the horizon, an addition by Giorgio that eludes explanation (see also no. 41).

The scene was painted in fresco on the right third of the south wall of the Sala di Psiche in the Palazzo del Te, Mantua (fig. 70). The fresco, painted about 1528, was based on a drawing by Giulio Romano. The scenes on the walls of the Sala di Psiche had been thought to depict the wedding feast of Cupid and Psyche, but Verheyen has shown that this interpretation is incorrect.¹ Among other factors, he points out that the child of Cupid and Psyche was born after their marriage. The ceiling of the room does show episodes from the story of Psyche as told by Apuleius, but according to Verheyen, the paintings on the walls were meant to create the illusion that the room was the island of Venus, as described in Francesco Colonna's *Hypnerotomachia*, published in Venice in 1499. (For a Ghisi print that derives from a later edition of this book, see no. 22.) In Colonna's book, a triumphal procession leads to an amphitheater in the middle of which is the fountain of Venus, where Cupid and Psyche witness the bath of Mars and Venus. In the Sala di Psiche, the scene of Mars and Venus bathing is painted on the left third of the north wall, in other words, directly across the room from Cupid and Psyche. The remaining scenes in the room show preparations for a feast, with Mercury, Bacchus, and Apollo among the gods depicted.² The whole room, according to Verheyen, is a paean to love, especially to extramarital love, for it was there that Duke Federigo Gonzaga retired with his mistress Isabella Boschetti.

Besides Giorgio's addition of intricately detailed foliage and the mysterious puff of smoke in the far background, the angle of the couch on which Cupid and Psyche recline is also different from that in the fresco. A drawing in the Louvre shows the scene of Cupid and Psyche and the three figures immediately to the left of them almost exactly as in the fresco (including the angle of the couch), but with dense woods behind them.³ It is unclear when this drawing was made, but, because of its careful execution, it seems more likely to have been a copy of the fresco than a preliminary sketch, and it certainly is not the drawing from which Ghisi worked.



Fig. 70. *The Feast for Cupid and Psyche*. Fresco (detail) after a design by Giulio Romano, Sala di Psiche, Palazzo del Te, Mantua. Photo: Art Resource, New York

Notes:

1. Verheyen, "Malereien in der Sala di Psiche," pp. 33–68, and *Palazzo del Te*, pp. 25–26, 116ff.

2. Much of the decoration on the rest of the walls in the room, but not this section, was engraved, on two plates, by Battista Franco (Bartsch xvi.135.47). The arrangement of the groups in Franco's engraving is so different from that in the room that it is clear his print was based on drawings. In Franco's print, all of the composition is reversed except for the Bath of Mars and Venus. Vasari apparently used this print to refresh his memory when writing about the Sala di Psiche for the 1568 edition of his *Lives* (de Vere, p. 1,295; Milanesi v, p. 539), thus producing a somewhat incoherent description of the room.

Diana Scultori made an engraving, on three plates, published in 1575 in Rome (Bartsch xv.449.40; Massari 149), which reverses the Franco print (i.e., the Bath of Mars and Venus is reversed but the remainder of the composition is in the same direction as the fresco) and is roughly the same size. It differs enough in detail, however, to seem not to be a copy of the Franco. Both Franco and Scultori may have had access to the same drawing or drawings in Rome. Whether these prints might reflect a preliminary stage in the evolution of the design of the Sala di Psiche is a question that has not, to our knowledge, been studied.

3. Inventory no. 3681, formerly Jabach Collection; published in Edith A. Standen, "The Sujet de la Fable Gobelins Tapestries," *Art Bulletin*, 46 (1964), p. 150 and fig. 8.

51 *The Mystic Marriage of St. Catherine*

After Correggio

By 1575



51. *The Mystic Marriage of St. Catherine*, state i. Istituto Nazionale per la Grafica, Rome. (Photograph lacks bottom margin.)

Platemark: 295/297 × 219/220 mm.

States:

- i: The bottom margin, which measures 26 mm. in height, is blank. Ghisi's monogram at the bottom edge of the image, just right of center. A light borderline around image, 268 × 213 mm.

Impressions are very fine, with scratches and plate tone.

- ii: Added in bottom blank margin: "Diuini felix uirgo cape pignus amoris. / Dignatur thalamis te Deus ipse suis" (Happy maiden, take this pledge of divine love. God himself deems you worthy of his marriage bed). To the right of this: "*Ant. Lafreri formis Rome 1575*", in italics.

- iii: Added in bottom left margin: "Petri de Nobilibus Formis.".

- iv: The plate reduced at base; from bottom borderline to bottom platemark now measures ca. 4 mm. The monogram and letters from the previous states

removed. Added on the rock under the sword edge, in reverse: "GIORGIVS GHISI/ MANTVANVS/ FECIT".

Impressions are late and worn.

References:

Bartsch II, Heller-Andresen 6, Massari 231

Ghisi based this print on a composition by Correggio, which was reproduced, according to Gould, in "an enormous quantity of old copies."¹ A painting on panel in Naples (fig. 71), slightly larger than the print, that has been dated to soon after 1520 in Parma is thought by many scholars to be the original, although others have doubted it.² The ownership of the painting in the sixteenth century is unknown.

Correggio's background shows a natural landscape; Giorgio has added houses directly behind St. Catherine, a town farther back, and other buildings in the distance.

According to Gould, there were "unusually numerous early engravings" of the Correggio composition.³ In addition to this print by Ghisi, we know of two others (see *Other versions*, below). Correggio was first identified as the artist of the original composition on the print by Mercati.

This print and four others by Ghisi on religious themes (nos. 52–55) and a copy of another (no. 17) were published by Lafreri, three of them, including this one, bearing the date 1575.

Other versions:

1. By G. B. Mercati. Etching, 281 × 238 mm., with a dedication to Lelio Guidiccioni at base. 1620. Bartsch XX.140.3.
2. Anonymous. Chiaroscuro woodcut, in reverse, 385 × 250 mm. With a different background. Bartsch XII.61.19.

Notes:

1. Cecil Gould, *The Paintings of Correggio* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1976), p. 89.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 230.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 89.



Fig. 71. *The Mystic Marriage of St. Catherine*. Oil painting by Correggio. Museo Nazionale di Capodimonte, Naples

52 *The Madonna of Loreto*

After Raphael
By 1575



52. *The Madonna of Loreto*, state ii. Collection of Phyllis D. Massar



Fig. 72. *The Madonna of Loreto*. Oil painting, by Raphael? Musée Condé, Chantilly. Photo: Giraudon/Art Resource, New York



Fig. 73. *The Madonna of Loreto*. Oil painting attributed to Raphael. The J. Paul Getty Museum, Malibu

Platemark: 297/298 × 219/220 mm.

States:

- i: The bottom margin, which measures 21 mm. in height, is blank. Ghisi's monogram at right edge, below the last fold of the cloth over the Virgin's left arm. A ruled borderline just inside the platemark all around.

We know of only one impression in this state, a brilliant, early one at the Gabinetto delle Stampe, Rome.

- ii: With the distych in italics in lower margin: "Arridet dulci puer, arridetq parenti. / Husquam oculos, nati flectit ab ore parens" (The boy smiles at his dear mother, and the mother smiles. The mother does not turn her eyes anywhere away from the face of her son). To right of this: "Ant. Lafreri formis Rome, 1575".

Watermarks: nos. 24 and 33.

- iii: Added at bottom left in lower margin: "Ioannes Orlandij formis Rome 1602.". Lafreri's address remains.

References:

Bartsch 5, Heller-Andresen 4, Massari 237

The engraving reproduces a composition known as *The Madonna of Loreto*, originally painted by Raphael about 1509, apparently commissioned by Pope Julius II (1503–13). The original or a version of the painting and a portrait of Julius II, also by Raphael, belonged to the Church of Santa Maria del Popolo in Rome during most of the sixteenth century.¹ Vasari praised the painting lavishly:

This work [the portrait] is now in S. Maria del Popolo, together with a very beautiful picture of Our Lady, painted at the same time by the same master, and containing the Nativity of Jesus Christ, wherein is the Virgin laying a veil over her Son, whose beauty is such, both in the air of the head and in all the members, as to show that He is the true Son of God. And no less beautiful than the Child is the Madonna, in whom, besides her supreme loveliness, there may be seen piety and gladness. There is also a Joseph, who, leaning with both his hands on a staff, and lost in thoughtful contemplation of the King and Queen of Heaven, gazes with the adoration of a most saintly old man. Both these pictures are exhibited on days of solemn festival.²

Vasari's words surely reflected, and may even have added to, the work's tremendous popularity; according



Fig. 74. *The Madonna of Loreto*. Oil painting, School of Raphael. The Pierpont Morgan Library, New York

to Bernadette Py, this was “of all Raphael’s easel paintings, the most copied, and copied very early,” and she writes that more than sixty painted copies or versions have been recorded.³ One of these copies, then thought to be the original, came to the Basilica of Loreto in the eighteenth century, and the image began to be called the “Madonna of Loreto”; modern scholars have chosen to continue using the title.⁴

Two paintings are now claimed as the original; one is in the Musée Condé at Chantilly (fig. 72),⁵ and the other in the J. Paul Getty Museum, Malibu (fig. 73).⁶ Another version that has in the past been thought to be the original is in the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York (fig. 74).⁷ The Ghisi engraving and the two other engraved versions from the sixteenth century (figs. 75, 76) were considered by Fredericksen and Py in their articles, but their discussions were muddled by the misidentification of the anonymous engraving as the Lucchese and—in Py’s article—of the second state of the Lucchese as by “Master M.”⁸ The Ghisi and the Lucchese engravings clearly resemble the painting at Chantilly more than the Getty Madonna, which has neither veil nor halo—although Ghisi’s engraving also lacks Joseph’s halo. The second state of the Lucchese, which is dated 1572, bears the legend “Alla Madonna del Popolo,” which would

seem to be evidence that it was the painting at Chantilly that was in Santa Maria del Popolo in the 1570s.

No drawing that could be a model for the engraving is known.⁹

Other versions:

1. By Michele Lucchese. Engraving, in reverse, 340 × 253 mm. State i is inscribed: “RAPHAEL VRBIN/ = INV = 1553/.M.L.”. In state ii, these letters are erased, leaving only “.M.L.”, and replaced by: “RITRATTO DUNQUADRO/ DI PITTURA CHE ALLA MA/ DONNA DEL POPOLO DI ROMA/ DI RAPHAELE DA URBINO ROMAE MDLXXII”. Passavant VI.167.4; Nagler VIII.94.2; Nagler, *Monogrammisten*, IV.1977.4.
2. Anonymous. Engraving, in reverse, 268 × 230 mm. Without borderline or letters.

Notes:

1. For the extremely complicated history of *The Madonna of Loreto*, see Sylvie Béguin et al., *La Madone de Lorette*, exhib. cat. (Chantilly: Musée Condé, 1979), and Burton Fredericksen, “New Information on Raphael’s *Madonna di Loreto*,” *The J. Paul Getty Museum Journal*, 3 (1976), pp. 5–45. Fredericksen, referring to one facet of the provenance of the Getty painting, writes, “Unfortunately, the possibilities even here have proved to be greater in number than one would expect, demonstrating once again why the *Madonna di Loreto* remains such a complex question, probably more so than any other painting in the history of art.”
2. Vasari, *Lives* (de Vere), pp. 890–91; (Milanesi) IV, pp. 338–39.
3. Béguin et al., *Madone de Lorette*, pp. 29, 36.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 5, and p. 29 for the history of the Loreto painting.
5. Oil on wood, 120 × 90 cm. See Béguin et al., *Madone de Lorette*.
6. Oil on wood, 120.5 × 91 cm. See Fredericksen, “New Information.”
7. Oil on canvas, 118.6 × 90.7 cm.
8. Fredericksen, “New Information,” pp. 34f.; Béguin et al., *Madone de Lorette*, pp. 29–30.
9. A drawing characterized as a “careful, early copy of some version of the *Madonna of Loreto*” is in the collection at Windsor Castle; A. E. Popham and Johannes Wilde, *The Italian Drawings of the XV and XVI Centuries in the Collection of His Majesty the King at Windsor Castle* (London: Phaidon, 1949), no. 853, red chalk, 403 × 338 mm. A drawing such as this could have been Ghisi’s model, and it is closer to the Ghisi engraving than to either of the others, but as the drawing is considerably larger than the engraving and there are visible, if small, differences between the two—for example, in the depictions of Christ’s left hand and in Joseph’s mouth—this was probably not the drawing from which Ghisi worked.



Fig. 75. *The Madonna of Loreto*. Engraving by Michele Lucchese. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Elisha Whittelsey Collection, The Elisha Whittelsey Fund, 1959. 59.595.18



Fig. 76. *The Madonna of Loreto*. Anonymous engraving. Photo: David Tunick, Inc., New York

53 *The Coronation of the Virgin*

By 1575

Platemark: 317 × 224/225 mm.

States:

- i: Before the inscription and the publisher's address in the bottom blank margin, which measures 36 mm. in height. The plate has ten scenes, the central scene measuring 204 × 109 mm. Giorgio's monogram at bottom right of the central scene. A light borderline all around, ca. 1 mm. inside the platemark, and a borderline around each scene.

We have seen only two impressions in this state, at the Albertina (Hofbibliothek, XVIII) and the Bibliothèque Nationale (Eb. 14. a). However, five impressions we viewed were trimmed at base so that the state could not be determined.

- ii: Added in bottom margin: "Consortem regni uult Christus habere parentem: Quanta patrocinijs spes hinc mortalibus aegris! / Pars bona magni operis scilicet illa fuit. Accedit superis gloria quanta choris." (Christ wishes to have his mother the consort of the King. How great a hope from this for protection from mortal ills! Certainly that was the good part of the great work. What great glory attends the heavenly choir). Following this: "Ant. Lafreri formis / Rome 1575".

Watermark: no. 11.

References:

Bartsch 13, Massari 232

The kneeling Virgin crowned by Christ, accompanied by musical angels, is shown in the principal scene of this print. Surrounding the central image are nine subsidiary scenes: at bottom left and right, two angels playing harps, and, clockwise from the left, scenes depicting The Assumption of the Virgin, The Pentecost, The Ascension of Christ, The Resurrection, The Adoration of the Magi (or The Epiphany), The Adoration of the Shepherds (or The Nativity), and The Annunciation. The order of the scenes reverses the biblical chronology

and could indicate that the print is reversed from its model.

These scenes represent the seven joys of the Virgin, a devotion created in the thirteenth century and popularized by the Tuscan Servite Order.¹ The joys commonly included The Visitation and Christ Disputing with the Doctors (when Jesus, thought by Mary and Joseph to have been lost, is found again) and occasionally The Presentation in the Temple—although none of these appears here. In some instances, The Coronation itself was counted as one of the joys. The Resurrection, The Ascension, and The Pentecost, all three of which appear in Ghisi's print, were also included, if less frequently.²

Cataloguers since Mariette have agreed that this print and the two following, *The Virgin of Sorrows* and *The Man of Sorrows* (nos. 54, 55), are related and were based on compositions by the same artist. The format, which almost certainly derives from manuscript illumination,³ is identical for all three, and they are virtually the same size. All three were published by Lafreri. Moreover, the subjects are related, and *The Man of Sorrows* and *The Virgin of Sorrows* are often paired.⁴ Furthermore, the image of *The Man of Sorrows* is off printed on the back of the impression of *The Virgin of Sorrows* in the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, that is, the impression of *The Virgin of Sorrows* would have been put on top of an impression of *The Man of Sorrows* while the latter was still wet. Only *The Coronation of the Virgin* is dated, but it seems reasonable to assume the others were published about the same time.

The Coronation differs from *The Virgin of Sorrows* and *The Man of Sorrows*, however, in that it seems to be reversed, it contains verses, and it has a state printed prior to Lafreri's inscription. It is possible that Ghisi engraved the plate of *The Coronation* first and that Lafreri then agreed to publish it and commissioned the other two engravings as well, stipulating only that they should be in the same direction as the original subjects.

The artist who designed the three works is unknown. Bartsch suggested it was a painter of the Florentine school. It seems possible, however, that the source of the images was closer to home: the style of the works has many similarities with that of Giorgio's brother Teodoro. Similar weighty, fully draped figures appear in many of Teodoro's paintings. Moreover, in the central image of *The Coronation*, the mise-en-scène—with the principal figures near the front of the picture plane, and



53. *The Coronation of the Virgin*, state ii. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1962. 62.602.458

a shallow background with chorus of angels above—is very similar to that of Teodoro’s painting *The Meeting of Anna and Joachim*.⁵ Furthermore, the angel playing a harp directly behind the Virgin in *The Coronation* bears a striking resemblance to the angel above Joachim in that painting, and its face is also very similar to that of the Madonna in a *Holy Family* by Teodoro now in Viadana.⁶ The placement of subsidiary scenes around a central image was a formal device known to have been used by Teodoro—an example, although later, is in an altarpiece of 1588 (fig. 77). In fact, the theme and the format suggest that they might have originally been composed as painted altarpieces, although no trace of any such altarpieces is known today.

Notes:

1. Louis Réau, *Iconographie de l’art chrétien*, 3 vols. in 6 (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1955–59), II, 2, p. 108.

2. The seven joys were represented in works of art much less often than the seven sorrows (see no. 54), and the list of events included in the former was more variable. Réau (see note 1) devotes a section to the seven sorrows of the Virgin, but mentions the joys only within his discussion of the sorrows. *The New Catholic Encyclopedia*, 15 vols. (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1967), XIII, pp. 441–43, also has an entry for the sorrows in which the joys are mentioned: “Traceable to the early 14th century, devotion to the seven sorrows even in the 15th century varied in the specific sorrows and was paralleled by devotion to five, fifteen, etc. Devotion to a fixed number of sorrows followed and was modeled on devotion to a fixed number of Mary’s joys. The unvaried sorrows of today (Simeon, Egypt, loss in the Temple, carrying of the cross, Crucifixion, taking down from the cross, burial) are the result of the spread of confraternities of the seven sorrows in the Low Countries toward the end of the 15th century. . . .” There is no specific entry for the joys and they are not enumerated. No modern iconographical dictionaries that we have consulted give identical lists for the joys.

3. See, for example, the painting of the Virgin of Sorrows by Nikolaus Glockendon from the Glockendonsches Gebetbuch of 1530–31, now in Aschaffenburg, illustrated in the *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, XIII, p. 442, or the work of Giulio Clovio, in Maria Gionini-Visani, *Giorgio Clovio: Miniaturist of the Renaissance* (New York: Alpine Fine Arts, 1980).

4. For example, two paintings in The Metropolitan Museum of Art, one by Adriaen Isenbrandt (04.32) and one a copy after Dirk Bouts (71.156–157), juxtapose these two figures. For the development of this juxtaposition, see Schiller, *Iconography of Christian Art*, pp. 211–15.

5. See Perina, “Catalogo di Teodoro Ghisi,” fig. 2.

6. *Ibid.*, fig. 1.



Fig. 77. *Symbolum Apostolorum*. Oil painting by Teodoro Ghisi. Steiermärkisches Landesmuseum Joanneum, Alte Galerie, Graz



54. *The Virgin of Sorrows*. (Added marking, lower right: "WE", Lugt 2617?) Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, Philadelphia

54 *The Virgin of Sorrows*

By 1575

Platemark: 320 × 228 mm.

State:

Only state? The print is divided into ten scenes, arranged like an altarpiece. The central scene measures 210 × 110 mm. Giorgio's monogram at lower left of the central image. In bottom margin, which measures 33 mm. in height: "Ant. Lafrerij." A borderline all around, just inside the platemark, and a borderline around each scene.

There was a pre-Lafreri state of *The Coronation of the Virgin*, and perhaps of this print and *The Man of Sorrows* as well, although we have never seen them.

Reference:

Bartsch 16

Note:

1. Réau, *Iconographie*, II, 2, pp. 108–10. See also Marina Warner, *Alone of All Her Sex: The Myth and Cult of the Virgin Mary* (New York: Random House, 1983), p. 218; the chapter "Mater Dolorosa," pp. 206–23, traces the theme from its pre-Christian origins to the twentieth century.

A devotional image rather than the depiction of a specific event, this print shows the Virgin Mary seated on a rock, gazing upward, her hands clasped in a gesture of lamentation. Framing her are nine scenes, two in the lower corners depicting kneeling angels, and the remainder, clockwise from the left, portraying the seven sorrows of the Virgin: The Presentation in the Temple (when Simeon prophesied that Mary would be pierced to the heart with sorrow through her child), The Flight into Egypt, Christ Disputing with the Doctors, (when Mary thought the young Jesus was lost), Christ Bearing the Cross, The Crucifixion, The Descent from the Cross, and The Entombment.

The seven sorrows became popular as a devotion later than the seven joys. The Synod of Cologne created a feast day to observe the seven sorrows in 1423, and near the end of the fifteenth century the first Confraternity of the Virgin of Sorrows was organized, in Bruges.¹ The theme of the seven sorrows is represented in works of art more frequently than that of the seven joys; it appears increasingly during the sixteenth century, reaching a peak near the end of the century in northern Europe (see also no. 53, note 2).

For a discussion of this print and nos. 53 and 55 as a group, see no. 53.



55. *The Man of Sorrows*, probably state i (trimmed at bottom). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1962. 62.656.3

55 *The Man of Sorrows*

By 1575

Platemark: 315/316 × 222/223 mm.

States:

- i: The plate is divided into ten scenes, the central scene measuring 211 × 110 mm. Giorgio's monogram is at bottom right of the central scene. At bottom center of the margin, which measures 32 mm.: "Ant. Lafrerij.". A light borderline all around, ca. 1 mm. inside the platemark, and a borderline around each scene.

There was a pre-Lafreri state of *The Coronation of the Virgin*, and perhaps of this print and *The Virgin of Sorrows* as well, although we have never seen them.

Watermark: no. 60.

- ii: To right of Lafreri's name, which has not been erased: "Petri de Nobilibus Formis".

Copy:

Anonymous. Engraving, in the same direction, 315 × 210 mm. With two lines of text in bottom margin, followed by "Claudij ducheti formis". There is an impression of this copy in the bound volume of religious prints in the Biblioteca Nacional in Madrid, which has a Lafreri title page dated 1576.

Reference:

Bartsch 15

cifixion, The Crowning with Thorns, Christ Stripped of His Garments, and Christ Nailed to the Cross.

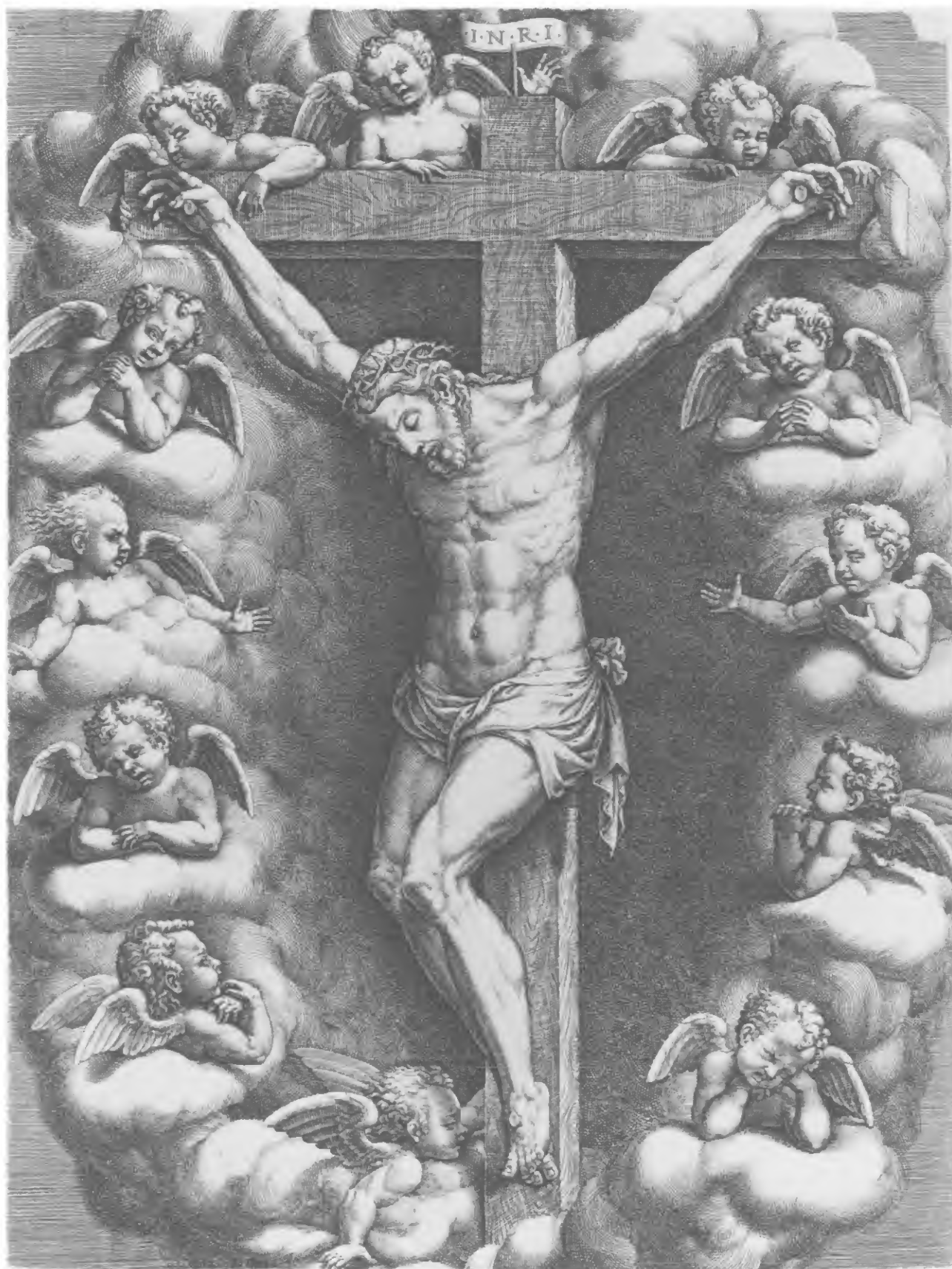
For a discussion of this print and the two preceding it as a group, see no. 53.

Note:

1. For a definition and discussion of the image of the Man of Sorrows, see Schiller, *Iconography of Christian Art*, pp. 198–226.

Christ portrayed as the Man of Sorrows is the principal scene in this print, which, like the two preceding prints, has nine subsidiary scenes above and at the sides of the central image.¹ Wounded in his hands, feet, and side, Christ is shown seated on a rock, wearing a crown of thorns, his wrists bound, and holding a bulrush, a symbol of his Mocking. Two crosses, and the base of a third, are visible in the background to the right.

In the lower corner are two mourning women—perhaps two of the three Marys. Clockwise from the left are scenes of Christ's suffering: The Circumcision, The Agony in the Garden, The Flagellation, The Cru-



56. *The Crucifixion with Mourning Angels*, state i (trimmed at bottom). Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, Philadelphia

56 *The Crucifixion with Mourning Angels*

Ghisi's design

Mid- to late 1570s

Platemark: 320/322 × 220/222 mm.

States:

i: Before additional shading. Angels depicted from shoulders up only. At left of bottom center: "G.MA. IN. F.". The cheek of the angel at Christ's feet partly white. The right forearm, hand, and forehead of the angel to left above the one at Christ's feet partly white.

Watermark: no. 2.

ii: Angels depicted from shoulders up only. The face of the angel at Christ's feet completely shaded, and the white areas on right forearm, hand, and forehead of the angel to left above shaded with parallel lines. Additional shading in other areas, and a borderline at top right.

iii: Before the publisher's address. Legs, and in some cases bodies, added to some of the angels.

Watermark: no. 51.

iv: Added just to left of Giorgio's monogram: "Nicolo Van aelst formis Romae". A very light borderline all around, ca. 307 × 209 mm.

Watermark: no. 52.

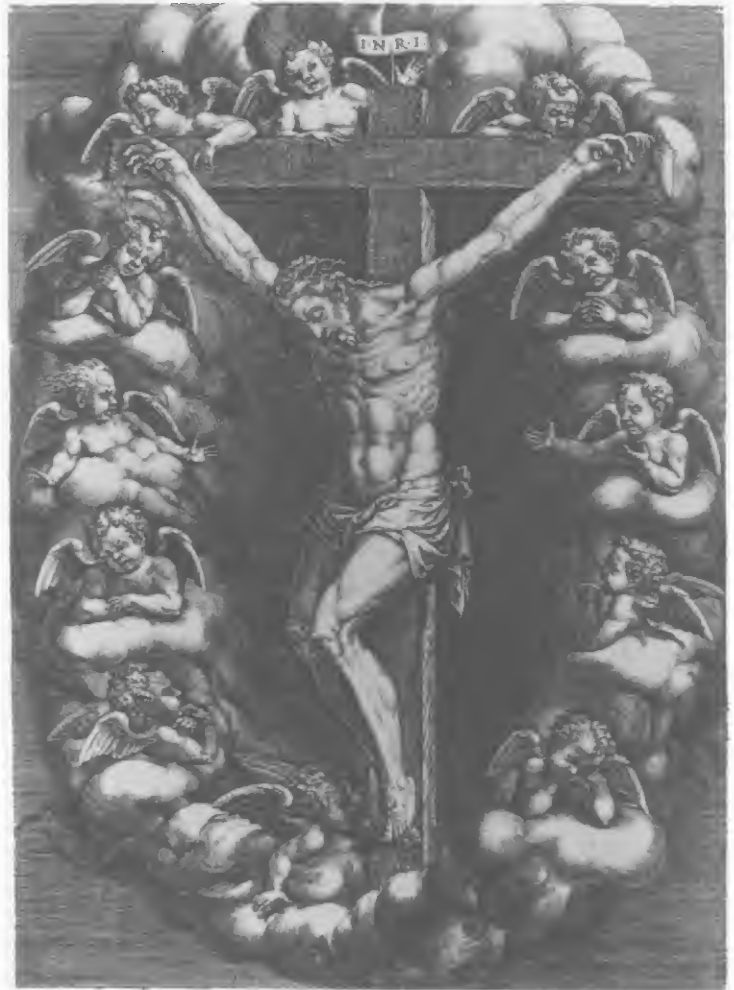
In this state, the plate existed into modern times; there are impressions on machine-made paper.

Copies:

1. Anonymous. Engraving, same size and direction. Without letters. The angels do not have legs or torsos. The hand of the angel at Christ's feet casts no thumb shadow, and the index finger is not separated from the rest of the hand.
2. Anonymous. Engraving, in reverse, 350 × 252 mm. At lower left: "IVLIVS ROM. IN.". At lower right: "FRAN. V. WYN. EX.". In the blank margin at base, which measures 4 mm.: "G.MF. Fecit" and a two-line inscription beginning "VVLNERATVS EST . . .". This is a copy of the second state.

References:

Bartsch 8, Massari 235



56. *The Crucifixion with Mourning Angels*, state iii. Collection of Robert Dance



Fig. 78. *The Crucifixion*. Oil painting by Fermo Ghisoni. San Andrea, Mantua. Photo: Calzolari, Mantua

The inscription "G.MA. IN. F." on this print indicates that Giorgio not only engraved but designed the image. The composition does seem to derive, however, from a painting by Fermo Ghisoni (about 1504–1575) in the Basilica of San Andrea, Mantua (fig. 78), painted, according to Perina, about 1556 but dated about 1570 by Negrisoni.¹ At any rate, Ghisi's engraving was probably made in the mid- to late 1570s, certainly later than the Ghisoni painting.

Ghisi's bust-length angels, as he originally made them, may have drawn ecclesiastical criticism in the strong Counter-Reformation atmosphere promoted by Duke Guglielmo Gonzaga. According to the Church, cherubim and seraphim were to be depicted as heads with one, two, or three pairs of wings; all other angels were to be rendered with complete bodies.² (The Ghisoni painting, for example, shows only winged heads.) It seems probable Ghisi was told to depict the angels with complete bodies to make them conform with Church doctrine. From the number of impressions still to be found of the early states, it is clear that more than just a few trial proofs were pulled before the changes were made, but the plate was by no means worn when the additions were done, and far more impressions exist with the full-bodied angels.

Notes:

1. Marani and Perina, *Mantova: Le arti*, III, p. 339; Anna Frignani Negrisoni, "Indagine, archivistica e riflessioni su un collaboratore di Giulio Romano: Fermo Ghisoni," in *Studi su Giulio Romano* (San Benedetto Po: Accademia Polironiana, 1975), p. 43.

2. Hall, *Subjects and Symbols*, p. 17. See also Mâle, *L'Art religieux*, p. 298.

Ghisi's design

1576

Platemark: 396/401 × 300/302 mm.

States:

- i: Before any publisher's address. On a small tablet, lower left: "G. MANT./ IN.F./ 1576". There are three tablets held by angels. Bottom left: "O HOMO/ VERE LANGVORES/ TVOS IPSE TVLIT./ ET DOLORES TVOS IPSE PORTAVIT" (O Man, surely he hath borne your griefs, and carried your sorrows [Isaiah LIII:4]). Bottom center: "MORS TVA MORS CHRISTI/ FRAVS MVNDI ET GLORIA/ COELI/ CVM POENA INFERNI SINT/ MEDITANDA TIBI" (You should meditate upon your death, the death of Christ, the deceit of the world, and the glory of Heaven along with the pains of Hell). Lower right: "O INESTIMA/ BILIS DILEC/ TIO CARITATIS/ VT SERVVM/ REDIMERES/ FILIVM/ TRADIDISTI" (O inestimable love of charity, that to redeem a slave You gave up a Son). Across the bottom borderline: "TE INVOCAMVS, TE ADORAM⁹. TE LAVDAM⁹. LIBERA NOS, SALVA NOS, IVSTIFICANOS, O BEATA TRINITAS" (We call upon you, we adore you. We praise you. Free us, save us, justify us, O Holy Trinity).

There is an extra dedicatory plate at the bottom, ca. 16 mm. high, with the inscription "GVLIELMO Gonzagae Dei gratia Mantuae et Montisferrati Sereniss⁹ Duci, pro Clariss⁹ monum^{to} eius eximiae religionis in Deū, et ob singularem/ amorem praeclaraq, beneficia in huius Imaginis sanctiss^{ae} cultores, benigne' collata. Georgius Ghisius Mant^{nus}ptis Tabellae author et inventor. Pie dicaint." (To Guglielmo Gonzaga, by the grace of God most serene Duke of Mantua and Montferrat, for the most illustrious monument of his exalted religion toward God and on account of his singular love and the outstanding kindness generously conferred upon the laborers of this most holy image. Giorgio Ghisi of Mantua, author and inventor of this plate, piously dedicates it).

Watermarks: nos. 38 and 51.

- ii: Added to right of the tablet with Giorgio's monogram: "Nic⁹ uan aelst/ formis Romac.". Without the dedicatory plate.

- iii: Van Aelst's address erased and replaced by "Romae apud/ Carolum Losi". Without the dedicatory plate.

Impressions are light and worn.

Watermark: no. 62.

Copy:

Anonymous. Engraving, in the same direction, 431 + × 395 mm. On a tablet held by the angel at lower left, an inscription beginning "Ecclesia . . .". At bottom, under two lines beginning "BENEDICTA . . .": "ROME, ANT⁹ LAFRERI.". There is an impression of this copy in the bound volume of religious prints in the Biblioteca Nacional in Madrid, which has a Lafreri title page dated 1576.

References:

Bartsch 14, Massari 236

This depiction of the Throne of Grace, the image of Christ seated in the lap of God the Father with the dove of the Holy Spirit above, shows God the Father, with a triangular halo symbolizing the Trinity, holding Christ on his right leg. Between two fingers of his right hand he displays the wound in Christ's side; with his left hand he holds Christ's left wrist. Directly above the head of God is the dove of the Holy Spirit. Angels surround the group: six large ones, draped; nine more, mostly nude, three of whom hold plaques with inscriptions; and numerous winged heads, cherubim or seraphim (see also no. 56). Two of the large angels display Christ's wounds on his right hand and his feet, another holds Veronica's veil, and the others, as do some of the smaller angels, hold instruments of the Passion.

The engraving is dedicated to Guglielmo Gonzaga, duke of Mantua and Montferrat, although the dedication, since it was added on a separate plate at the bottom, was apparently an afterthought. It must have been added immediately upon completion of the image, however, as



57. *The Trinity*, state i. Courtesy, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Katherine Eliot Bullard Fund in memory of Francis Bullard

we have seen no impression of the first state without the dedicatory plate.

The monument to which the dedication refers is most probably the Palatine Basilica of St. Barbara, built between 1561 and 1572 (see also nos. 60–63). As Fenlon wrote, “More than any other project carried out during his rule, the construction, decoration and liturgical operations of the Palatine Basilica of Santa Barbara occupied Guglielmo almost to the point of obsession.”¹ This basilica had its own liturgy, composed through negotiations between Duke Guglielmo and Rome over a period of years that continued after the completion of the structure.² Two of the texts in the plate are part of the Roman liturgy connected with the Passion: the “O homo vere languores . . .,” which is a passage from Isaiah, and the “O inestimabilis dilectio. . . .” Schiller, beginning her discussion of the Throne of Grace, writes, “this Trinity image was created in connection with the image of Christ’s sacrificial death.”³ The other two inscriptions may possibly have been part of the Mantuan liturgy, or they may derive from another source.⁴

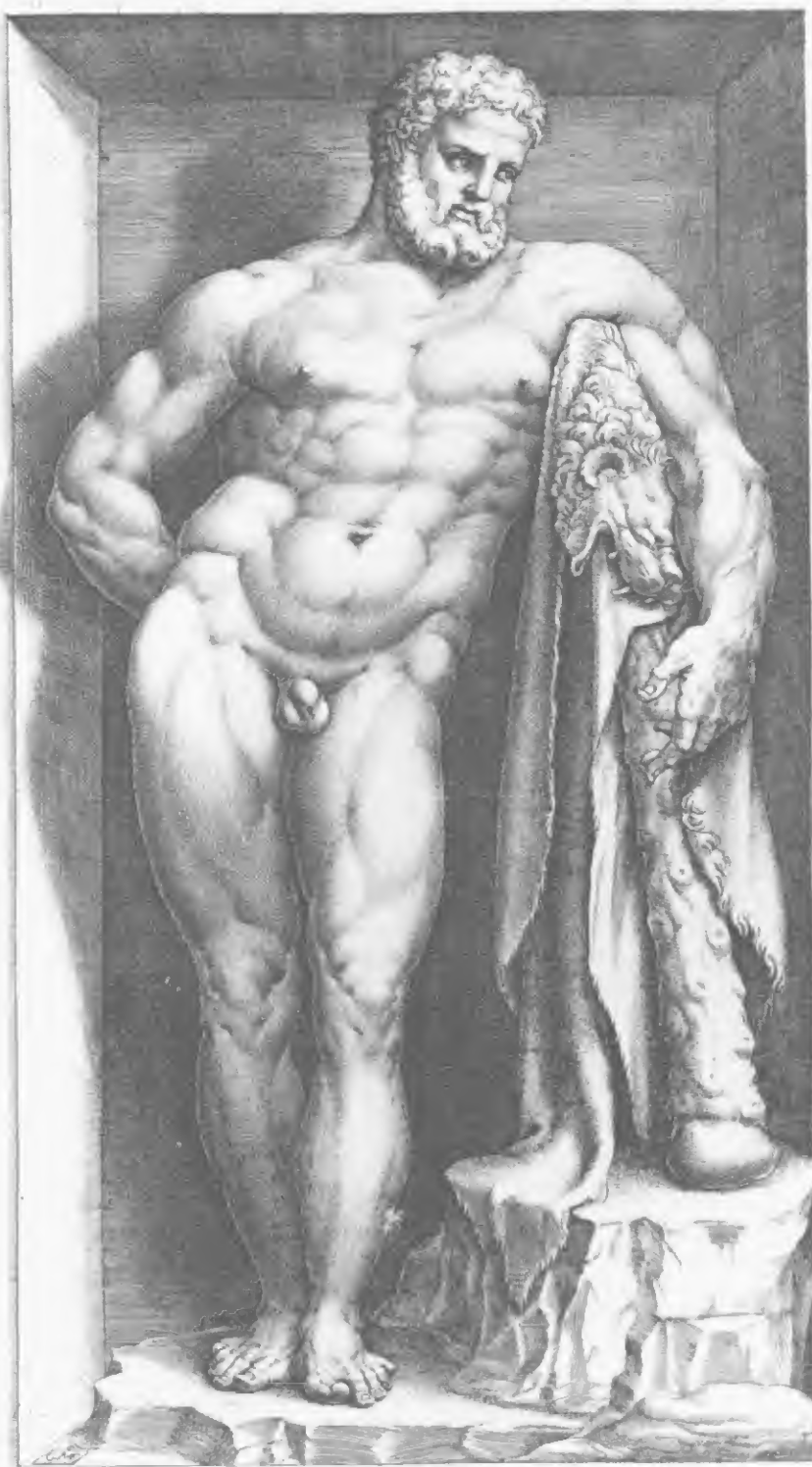
According to the inscription on a small plaque at the left of this engraving, Giorgio was the inventor as well as the engraver of this print. Ghisi’s inspiration and general composition, however, surely derive from Albrecht Dürer’s woodcut *Trinity* of 1511.⁵ Furthermore, some of the physiognomies of the figures are similar to those created by Giorgio’s brother, Teodoro.⁶ If Teodoro did not actually draw some of the figures, it is very possible his work provided models that Giorgio followed.

Another version:

Anonymous. Engraving, 265 × 190 mm. Without inscriptions. Dated 1587 at lower right. A mature, draped angel at lower left holds a column; another, lower right, holds a large cross.

Notes:

1. Iain Fenlon, in Chambers and Martineau, *Splendours*, p. 90.
2. Fenlon, *Music and Patronage*, p. 102.
3. See Schiller, *Iconography of Christian Art*, II, pp. 122–24.
4. Grateful acknowledgment to Robert Dance, John Cook, and Adain Kavanagh for information on these texts. It has unfortunately not been possible for us to read through the Mantuan liturgy.
5. Hollstein (German) VII.151.187; Bartsch VII.141.122.
6. See Perina, “Catalogo di Teodoro Ghisi,” figs. 1, 2.



58. *The Farnese Hercules*, state i. Private collection, USA

58 *The Farnese Hercules*

Late 1570s

Platemark: 362/369 × 218/220 mm.

States:

i: Before any publisher's address. Ghisi's monogram on a tablet in the lower left corner of the niche. The blank area of the rock, lower right, where van Aelst's name appears in the next state, has a faint horizontal scratch, joined at right with a shorter horizontal scratch, forming an acute angle. A light ruled borderline, ca. 2 mm. within the platemark. The front edge of the niche measures ca. 320 × 172 mm.

Watermarks: nos. 33, 38, and 55 (?).

ii: Added, on blank area of the rock, lower right: "Nic^o Van Aelst for."

iii: Van Aelst's name and the scratch erased. Added, ca. 15 mm. beneath the bottom line of the niche, at left: "Ioannes Orlandij formis rome. 1602."

The plate was listed in Rossi's catalogue at least from 1677, but so far as we know his address was never added. The plate was in the Calcografia Nazionale until May 1823, when it was ordered destroyed by Pope Leo XII, according to Massari.

Copy:

Published by Mario Cartaro. Engraving, 344 × 223 mm. With an arched top, and, on the rock, the Greek inscription that is on the sculpture. At left: "Marius Cartarus Exc. Romae". Bartsch xv.530.24.

References:

Bartsch 41, Heller-Andresen 12, Huelsen 55eB and 55fC (with monogram mislocated), Massari 211

*T*he Farnese Hercules (fig. 79), a marble statue by the Athenian sculptor Glycon, copied after a fourth-century B.C. sculpture by Lysippos, came to light during excavations in the Baths of Caracalla, under the direction of the Farnese Pope Paul III, in 1540.¹ It was placed in the Farnese Palace before 1556, the date it was first mentioned in



Fig. 79. *The Farnese Hercules*. Marble sculpture by Glycon after an original by Lysippos. Museo Nazionale, Naples. Photo: Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Rome

print, by Aldrovandi.² When the statue was found, according to Aldrovandi, it lacked legs and hands. Replacements for these were made by Guglielmo della Porta, so well, in the judgment of his contemporaries, that when the original legs were found in a well in 1560, it was decided to retain della Porta's substitutes.³ (The original legs were restored only in the eighteenth century, when the Farnese Collection passed by inheritance to Charles

of Bourbon, king of Naples, who established what is now the National Museum in Naples.)

The depiction of the statue in an engraving of Michelangelo's design for the rear wing of the Farnese Palace (fig. 80) is probably the first time it was represented in a print. The print is by an anonymous artist, and was published in 1560 by Antonio Lafreri (see Publishers); it is found in many compilations of the *Speculum*.⁴ It is possible that the anonymous woodcut of the statue used on the title page of *Le dodici fatiche d'Hercole* (fig. 81) preceded the engraving of the Farnese Palace, but since the *Fatiche* can only be roughly dated to the 1560s, the question cannot be resolved. In 1562, Lafreri published the first major print depicting only the statue itself, engraved by Jacob Bos (fig. 82); this print also appears frequently in the *Speculum*. According to Huelsen,⁵ Ghisi's version was commissioned as a replacement for Bos's plate by Claudio Duchetti, who inherited part of Lafreri's business in 1577 (see Publishers). The watermarks and the style of this engraving support Huelsen's statement, as does the fact that this plate, too, is often found in *Speculum* collections, never with Lafreri's name as publisher.⁶

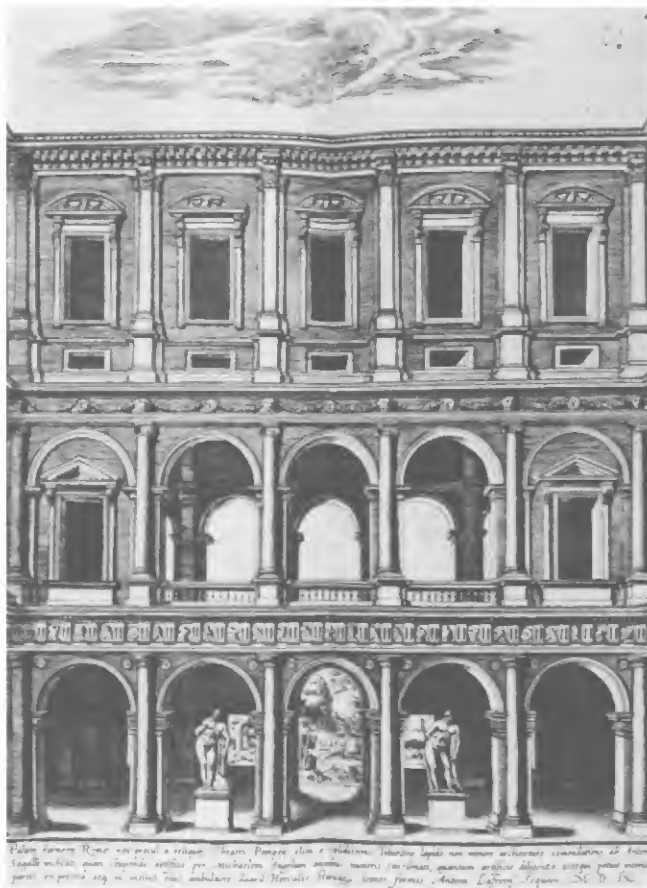


Fig. 80. *The Farnese Hercules* and another statue of Hercules shown with a projected design for the rear wing of the Farnese Palace. Anonymous engraving. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1941. 41.72 (3.50)



Fig. 81. *The Farnese Hercules*. Anonymous woodcut on title page of *Le dodici fatiche d'Hercole* (Florence, n.d.). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1937. 37.37.28

Ghisi may have seen the statue in Rome in the 1540s and made or acquired a drawing of it, but it seems more likely that he followed a drawing made in the 1570s expressly for him to engrave. His version is smaller than Bos's and places the statue in a rectangular, not an arched niche, and on a base simulating an outcropping of rock. Ghisi's base certainly resembles the actual one more than Bos's. Whether the niches framing the statue shown in the two prints truly represent the way the statue was placed in 1562 and in the late 1570s is probably not possible to determine. It could also be that the statue was in the open air, as Goltzius seems to have depicted it in his drawing of 1591 of Hercules from the back, from which he made an engraving published in 1617.⁷

Other versions:

1. By Jacob Bos. Engraving, 445 × 302 mm. The niche has an arched top. Below the rock on which the club rests: "Iacobus Bossius Belga. incidit". The Greek inscription is on the rock. Below the niche, three lines ending "Ant. Lafrerius Sequanus aeneis formis diligenter expressit Anno MDLXII". Hollstein

(Dutch and Flemish) III.150.15; Huelsen 55a, with inscriptions that vary slightly from these.

2. Anonymous. Woodcut, 114 × 86 mm. On title page of *Le dodici fatiche d'Hercole* (Florence: alle Scalee di Badia, ca. 1560).
3. By Philippus Thomassinus. Engraving, in reverse. The niche has an arched top, and Hercules wears a fig leaf. At bottom: "Hercules in edibus Card. Farnesij".

The Rossi catalogues of 1677 and 1773 list a version by Nicolas Beatrizet, but it is not recorded by Bartsch or Robert-Dumesnil, and we have never seen it.

Notes:

1. A. Ruesch, *Guida illustrata del Museo Nazionale di Napoli* (Naples: Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione, 1909), pp. 90–92, no. 280 (6001); Bianca Teolato Maiuri, *Museo Nazionale, Napoli* (Novara: Istituto Geografico de Agostino, 1971), pp. 32–33.
2. Ulysses Aldrovandi, *Di tutte le statue antiche, che per tutta Roma*, published with L. Mauro, *Le antichità della città di Roma* (Venice: Giordano Ziletti, 1556), pp. 157–58.
3. Seymour Howard, "Pulling Herakles' Leg: Della Porta, Algardi, and Others," in *Festschrift Ulrich Middeldorf* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1968), p. 403.
4. Huelsen 103. Two very similar statues are shown, and Aldrovandi does mention another colossal Hercules (*Statue antiche*, p. 156); the lack of detail makes it impossible to tell which one was meant as the statue by Glycon. These statues may have been chosen because they were particularly famous or because, as a pair, they conveyed the symmetry of Michelangelo's design—or a combination of both reasons. It should be understood, however, that they were not displayed this way in 1560, because this wing never existed in this form; see James S. Ackerman, *The Architecture of Michelangelo* (Baltimore: Penguin, 1971), pp. 328–29. Aldrovandi described the two statues of Hercules along with more than sixty other statues or fragments as being "in a room outside the palace toward the Tiber" until they were moved to ornament the palace (p. 150).
5. Huelsen 55e.
6. David Landau, in Francis Haskell and Nicholas Penny, comps., *The Most Beautiful Statues: The Taste for Antique Sculpture, 1500–1900*, exhib. cat. (Oxford: Ashmolean Museum, 1981), no. 14, argues for a date about 1580 from the watermark on the Ashmolean's impression, which is an early one, and states that the same watermark is found on prints known to have been published by Duchetti.
7. Hollstein (Dutch and Flemish) VIII.33.145; Strauss, *Hendrik Goltzius*, no. 312; Suzanne Boorsch in Sheard, *Antiquity*, no. 100.



Fig. 82. *The Farnese Hercules*. Engraving by Jacob Bos. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1941. 41.72 (2.63)



59. *The Rest on the Flight into Egypt*, state i. Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, Philadelphia

59 *The Rest on the Flight into Egypt*

After Giulio Campi

1578

Platemark: 473/475 × 323/324 mm.

States:

i: Before any publisher's address. Beneath the plant next to the Virgin's right foot: ".G.MAF/ 1578", the "8" sometimes appearing as if it had been altered, perhaps engraved over another number. On a tablet at bottom right: "IVLIVS CAMPVS/ CREMONENSIS/ IN.". A light borderline around the image.

Watermarks: nos. 38 and 64.

ii: Added lower right, to left of the Campi tablet: "Petrus Fachettus Mantuanus formis Rome".

This state is rare. We have seen only two impressions, at the British Museum (C 54) and in the Malaspina Collection, Pavia.

iii: Facchettus's address erased, along with a small part of the lower left corner of the Campi tablet, and replaced by: "Nicolo uan aelst for. Romae".

iv: Van Aelst's address imperfectly erased up to "for. Romae".

v: Over van Aelst's imperfectly erased address: "francesco palm", followed by the "for. Romae" remaining from van Aelst's address.

Copy:

By Agostino Carracci. Engraving, same size and direction. According to Bohlin, this print was done soon after Giorgio's. Carracci has made various changes, simplifying and broadening the technique. There is no tablet at right, and the print is unsigned. The first state is without letters. The second state has "Donati Rasicoti form." and the third state has "in Bassano per il Remodini. 1492.". Bartsch XVIII.91.99; Bohlin 16.¹

References:

Bartsch 4, Heller-Andresen 3, Massari 238



Fig. 83. *The Rest on the Flight into Egypt*. Drawing after a painting by Giulio Campi. Louvre, Paris. Photo: Réunion des Musées Nationaux

Ghisi's print reproduces a composition by Giulio Campi painted about 1565–70² for the Church of San Paolo in Milan and still visible there. A drawing of the composition is now in the Louvre (fig. 83).³ Earlier scholars had thought that this was a preparatory drawing for the painting, but Giampaolo has pointed out that it is much more likely a copy of the painting.⁴ It is virtually the same size as Ghisi's engraving, but the small

differences here and there—for example, the position of the donkey's mouth or the formation of the angel's wing that obscures the right eye of the ox—make it doubtful that this is the drawing from which he worked.

Notes:

1. Diane DeGrazia Bohlin, *Prints and Related Drawings by the Carracci Family*, exhib. cat. (Washington: The National Gallery of Art, 1979).
2. Mario di Giampaolo, "Due disegni di Giulio Campi," *Antichità viva*, 16 (1977), p. 35.
3. Inventory no. 6266, 480 × 321 mm., formerly Jabach Collection.
4. Giampaolo, "Giulio Campi," p. 36.

60 *The Adoration of the Shepherds*

Late 1570s

Platemark: 275/276 × 180/182 mm.

States:

- i: Before Giorgio's monogram. The tablet at bottom right blank. On the banderole held by the angels: "GLORIA IN ECCELSIS". A fine borderline all around, 272 × 178 mm.

We have seen only two impressions in this state, at the Museum Boymans-van Beuningen, Rotterdam, and in the collection of Mr. and Mrs. Marcus S. Sopher.

- ii: Giorgio's monogram added on the small tablet beneath the plant at bottom right.

Sometimes printed in brown, oily ink, like nos. 61–63, which also appeared in the missal.

A text sometimes present on verso, beginning "Festum Nativita Domini", as it appeared in the *Missale Sanctis* for the Basilica of St. Barbara in Mantua, dated 1583 on a dedication to the pope by Guglielmo Gonzaga.

Watermark: no. 28.

The plates for this and the following three engravings (and another, representing the archangel Gabriel and St. Longinus) still existed in 1928, at which time their ownership passed from the Basilica of St. Barbara, Mantua, to the Palazzo Ducale. The agreement for the transfer, dated October 24, 1928, is in the archives of the palazzo. According to authorities in the Palazzo Ducale, the plates were later removed to the Calcografia Nazionale in Rome, but the present curators at the Calcografia do not know their whereabouts.

References:

Bartsch 2, Massari 233

Among Ghisi's last commissions was a series of engravings to illustrate a missal for the use of the church of the Mantuan court, the Basilica of St. Barbara. This missal was published with a dedication to Pope Gregory



Fig. 84. *The Adoration of the Shepherds with St. Benedict*. Oil painting by Girolamo Mazzola Bedoli and Fermo Ghisoni. Louvre, Paris. Photo: Réunion des Musées Nationaux

XIII (1572–85) dated November 10, 1583, some eleven months after Giorgio's death.¹ It appears, however, to have been envisioned nearly two decades earlier, since the dedication states that the permission to create the missal was issued by Pope Pius IV (1559–65), perhaps about the time the basilica was consecrated, in October 1564.²

Ghisi produced four plates for the book, *The Adoration of the Shepherds*, *The Crucifixion* (no. 61), *The Resur-*



60. *The Adoration of the Shepherds*, state ii. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1953. 53.600.992

rection (no. 62), and *The Martyrdom of St. Barbara* (no. 63). Whether more prints for the missal were commissioned from him is not known, but another plate was eventually made, by an anonymous engraver, showing the archangel Gabriel and St. Longinus with the blood of Christ. All five of these prints are to be found in an edition of the missal published in Venice in 1693.³ The only copy of the 1583 edition known to us has had the plates removed.⁴

Although Massari quoted d'Arco's statement that *The Martyrdom of St. Barbara* was made "to decorate a book that served the ecclesiastics for the exercise of their sacred functions," she evidently did not know of the existence of the missal, nor did she realize that these four prints by Giorgio were composed as a series.⁵

The designers of the four compositions are unknown, but they all seem to have come from the circle of artists working in or near Mantua loosely under the direction of Giovanni Battista Bertani until his death in 1576 (see no. 15). Certain aspects of the composition of *The Adoration of the Shepherds* are very similar to a painting by Girolamo Mazzola Bedoli and Fermo Ghisoni, *The Adoration of the Shepherds with St. Benedict*, commissioned in 1552 for San Benedetto Po, a large convent church less than ten kilometers southeast of Mantua; this painting is now in the Louvre (fig. 84).⁶ The kneeling shepherd in the foreground in the engraving is startlingly similar to the corresponding shepherd in the painting; both the painting and the engraving are vertical in format, with the shepherds approaching from the right; both have a group of musical angels above. It seems possible that Teodoro Ghisi was the author of this design; the facial type of the Madonna, for example, resembles that in *The Holy Family in Viadana*.⁷ Whoever designed the engraving clearly knew the painting by Bedoli and Ghisoni.

Notes:

1. Fenlon, *Music and Patronage*, p. 206; see also Chambers and Martineau, *Splendours*, no. 214.

2. Marani and Perina, *Mantova: Le arti*, III, p. 22; see also Fenlon in Chambers and Martineau, *Splendours*, p. 90.

3. In the Biblioteca Comunale di Mantova, 151/F15.

4. In the Archivio Storico Diocesano di Mantova. This information was kindly communicated by Renato Berzaghi (letter, January 27, 1982).

5. Bellini, on the other hand, knew of the existence of four plates "recently found in Mantua and . . . temporarily consigned to the Calcografia Nazionale, Rome," but he did not know to which works the plates corresponded: "Incisioni," p. 123, note 16.

6. Ann Rebecca Milstein, *The Paintings of Girolamo Mazzola Bedoli* (New York: Garland, 1978), p. 195.

7. See Perina, "Catalogo di Teodoro Ghisi," fig. 1.



61. *The Crucifixion with the Virgin, the Magdalen, and St. John*. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Joseph Pulitzer Bequest, 1917. 17.50.16—9

6I *The Crucifixion with the Virgin, the Magdalen, and St. John*

Late 1570s

Platemark: 263/264 × 184/187 mm.

State:

Only state. Giorgio's monogram in lower left corner. At top of the cross: "INRI".

Sometimes printed in brown, oily ink, as are nos. 60, 62, and 63, to which it is related.

The plates for this engraving and for nos. 60, 62, and 63 (and for another print, representing the archangel Gabriel and St. Longinus) still existed in 1928, at which time their ownership passed from the Basilica of St. Barbara, Mantua, to the Palazzo Ducale. The agreement for the transfer, dated October 24, 1928, is in the archives of the palazzo. According to authorities in the Palazzo Ducale, the plates were later removed to the Calcografia Nazionale in Rome, but the present curators at the Calcografia do not know their whereabouts.

References:

Bartsch 7, Massari 234

The design for *The Crucifixion* might also, like that for *The Adoration of the Shepherds* (no. 60), have been made by Teodoro Ghisi: the faces of the Virgin and St. John bear a resemblance to that of Adonis (see no. 42), and the kneeling Magdalen is not unlike the one painted by Teodoro in San Martino in Mantua.¹ For discussion of the missal for which this print was made, see the preceding entry.

Note:

1. See Perina, "Catalogo di Teodoro Ghisi," fig. 3.



62. *The Resurrection*. The New York Public Library; Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations, The Stauffer Collection

62 *The Resurrection*

Late 1570s

Platemark: 263/264 × 182/185 mm.

State:

Only state. Giorgio's monogram at bottom right corner.

Sometimes printed in brown, oily ink, as are nos. 60, 61, and 63, to which it is related.

The plates for this engraving and for nos. 60, 61, and 63 (and for another print, representing the archangel Gabriel and St. Longinus) still existed in 1928, at which time their ownership passed from the Basilica of St. Barbara, Mantua, to the Palazzo Ducale. The agreement for the transfer, dated October 24, 1928, is in the archives of the palazzo. According to authorities in the Palazzo Ducale, the plates were later removed to the Calcografia Nazionale in Rome, but the present curators at the Calcografia do not know their whereabouts.

Copy:

Bartsch and Robert-Dumesnil state that Pierre Woeiriot made a copy of this engraving, dated 1577. The supplement to Robert-Dumesnil, however, correctly states that the print in question shows a different composition and is not by Woeiriot but by Melchior Meyer. Robert-Dumesnil vii.58.20 and xi.343.20.

References:

Bartsch 9, Passavant 9, Massari 181

image for Ghisi to engrave. For discussion of the missal for which this print was made, see no. 60.

Note:

1. See Perina, "'Bertanus Invenit.'"

*I*n both design and execution, *The Resurrection* is the strongest of the four prints Ghisi engraved for the missal. The composition has some stylistic affinities with Bertani's work (see nos. 15, 16, and 24), although his oeuvre still remains to be clearly defined.¹ Bertani died in 1576, but the missal had apparently been planned for a dozen years by then, and since Bertani was the overseer of all works of art produced for the Gonzaga court, it is quite possible that before his death he designed the



63. *The Martyrdom of St. Barbara*, state ii. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1953.
53.600.993

63 *The Martyrdom of St. Barbara*

Late 1570s

Platemark: 270/272 × 182/184 mm.

States:

- i: Before Ghisi's monogram. A very fine incomplete borderline around the image, visible at upper left corner, lower portion of the left side, and partly across bottom.

We have seen only one impression in this state, at the Albertina (Hofbibliothek, XVIII).

- ii: With Giorgio's monogram at bottom center, to left of the pointing man's left foot.

Sometimes printed in brown, oily ink, as are nos. 60–62, to which it is related.

There is a late impression at the Philadelphia Museum of Art with two columns of text in red and black on verso, beginning "Sabato Quator Temporum Septembris 259", as it appeared in the Missale Sanctis for the Basilica of St. Barbara in Mantua.

The plates for this engraving and for nos. 60–62 (and for another print, representing the archangel Gabriel and St. Longinus) still existed in 1928, at which time their ownership passed from the Basilica of St. Barbara, Mantua, to the Palazzo Ducale. The agreement for the transfer, dated October 24, 1928, is in the archives of the palazzo. According to authorities in the Palazzo Ducale, the plates were later removed to the Calcografia Nazionale in Rome, but the present curators at the Calcografia do not know their whereabouts.

References:

Bartsch 10; d'Arco, p. 108, no. 40; Massari 210

*D'*Arco states that *The Martyrdom of St. Barbara* reproduces the principal altarpiece of the Basilica of St. Barbara, by Domenico Brusasorci, which Vasari reports was made after a design by Bertani.¹ The only similarities between the painting and the engraving, however, are the vertical format and tripartite division; the engraving clearly does not reproduce the painting. Still, the design, like that for

The Resurrection (no. 62), may derive at least in part from Bertani; the woman in the foreground, especially, is reminiscent of some of the figures in *The Judgment of Paris* (no. 16) and in others of his works.² For discussion of the missal for which this print was made, see no. 60.

Notes:

1. Vasari, *Lives* (de Vere), p. 1,641; (Milanesi) vi, p. 488. This painting is illustrated in Massari, p. 147, and Marani and Perina, *Mantova: Le arti*, iii, pl. 231.

2. See Perina, "'Bertanus Invenit.'"

Attributed Works

A 1 *Roman Soldiers Before an Emperor*

After Giulio Romano (?)

Before 1540 (?)

Platemark: 208 × 318 mm., with uneven plate edges.

State:

Only state. Unsigned and without letters. A ruled borderline, 200 × 310 mm., around the image.

This engraving appears to be very rare; we have seen only two impressions, at The Metropolitan Museum of Art and in a private collection. The impression at the Metropolitan Museum is on blue paper, as is the early im-

pression of *The Mocking of the Prisoners* (no. 4) in the Soriga Collection in Pavia.

*T*his print, which we have not found recorded in the literature, is quite close, in drawing and technique, to the first four works in the catalogue. Although it is not signed, we believe it is by Giorgio, and it may be his first print. Though we do not know the source, the drawing style resembles that of Giulio Romano.



A1. *Roman Soldiers Before an Emperor*. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Elisha Whittelsey Collection, The Elisha Whittelsey Fund, 1951. 51.501.788

A 2 *Jupiter and Antiope*

After Primaticcio

1560s (?)

Platemark: 160 × 295 mm.

States:

- i: Before letters in the blank margin. Ghisi's monogram, rather large, in reverse at bottom right, half-way between the vegetables and the right edge of the print. The image is within a niche; portions of the design overlap its lower edge. Outside the niche is a borderline, 172 × 307 mm.

We have seen two impressions in this state, at the Bibliothèque Nationale (Bb.13:T.II) and the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, both fine.

- ii: Added in the blank area at bottom left: "A. FONTANA BLEO BOL:". Depending upon the printing, the monogram can be very difficult to read.

References:

Bartsch 52; Dimier 67; Herbert v, p. 236

This print, which Bartsch did attribute to Ghisi, has been placed here because the authors disagree about whether it was indeed by him or should be rejected. R. E. Lewis thinks the print is by Ghisi and would place it near in time to the eight engravings after Primaticcio's ceiling designs (nos. 30–37), in the 1560s. Suzanne Boorsch finds the style slightly freer, with outlines more in evidence, and more supple, than in Ghisi's certain work at this date. The monogram is reversed, something Ghisi did on no other print, and it is in letters somewhat larger than those he normally used except on his earliest works.¹

Other versions:

1. By Antonio Fantuzzi. Etching, 170 × 263 mm. Fantuzzi's monogram at lower left, in reverse. Herbert II.80.50, Zerner AF 71.
2. By Ferdinand. Etching, in reverse, 170 × 252 mm. This may be a copy of Fantuzzi's print.

Note:

1. See also Gioconda Albricci, "Su un'incisione di G. Ghisi," *I quaderni del conoscitore di stampe*, no. 28 (September–October 1975), pp. 16–17.



A2. *Jupiter and Antiope*, state ii. Devonshire Collection, Chatsworth. Reproduced by permission of the Trustees of the Chatsworth Settlement

A 3–10 *Plates Commemorating the Entry of Henry III into Mantua, August 2, 1574*

PLATE I:

Platemark: 165 × 122 mm.

States:

i: Before the number, bottom center.

ii: With the number.

PLATE II:

Platemark: 166 × 121 mm.

States:

i: Before the measurement scale above the number.

ii: With the measurement scale.

PLATE III:

Platemark: 164 × 121 mm.

States:

i: Before the measurement scale below the number.

Watermark: no. 1.

ii: With the measurement scale.

PLATE IIII:

Platemark: 163 × 115 mm.

State:

Only state. With the number, bottom center.

PLATE V:

Platemark: ca. 230 × 142 mm.

States:

i: Before the measurement scale below the number.

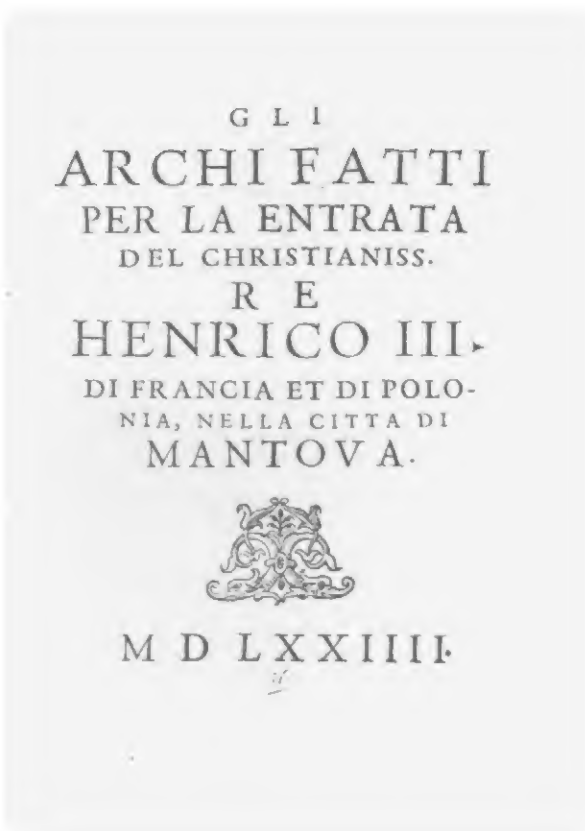


Fig. 85. Title page for the plates commemorating the entry of Henry III into Mantua, August 2, 1574. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Elisha Whittelsey Collection, The Elisha Whittelsey Fund, 1953. 53.538.8



A3. Plate I, The bridge over the Pisterle, state i (trimmed at bottom). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Elisha Whittelsey Collection, The Elisha Whittelsey Fund, 1953. 53.538.8 (pl. 1)

ii: With the measurement scale.

PLATE VI:

Platemark: 166 × 121 mm.

States:

i: Before the measurement scale below the number.

Watermark: no. 58.

ii: With the measurement scale.

PLATE VII:

Platemark: 165 × 121 mm.

State:

Only state. With the number, bottom center.

Watermark: no. 1.

PLATE VIII:

Platemark: 164 × 121 mm.

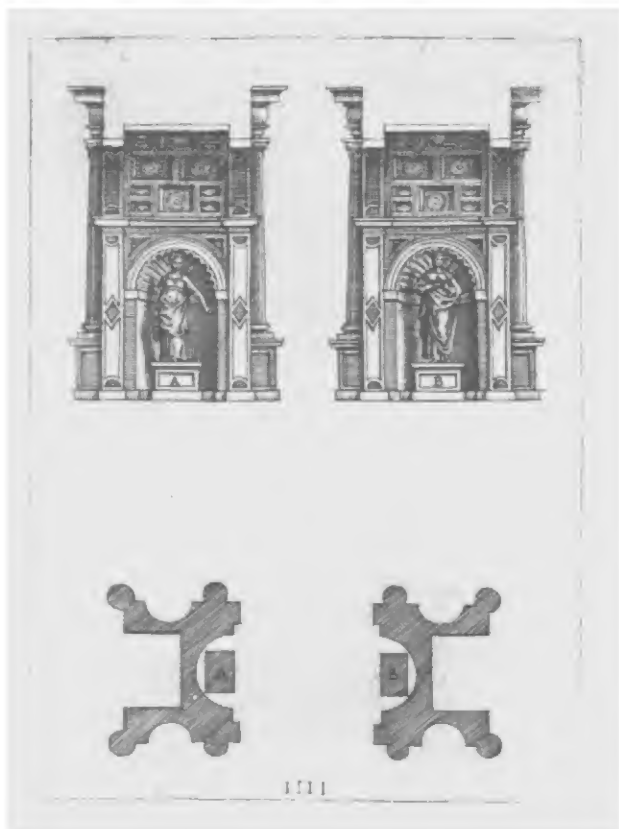
States:

i: Before the measurement scale below the number.

ii: With the measurement scale.



- A4. Plate II, The triumphal arch of the bridge over the Pisterle, state i. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Elisha Whittelsey Collection, The Elisha Whittelsey Fund, 1953. 53.538.8 (pl. 2)
- A5. Plate III, The triumphal arch of the Bridge of St. Silvester, state i. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Elisha Whittelsey Collection, The Elisha Whittelsey Fund, 1953. 53.538.8 (pl. 3)
- A6. Plate IIII, Two statues in the interior of the archway of the Bridge of St. Silvester. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Elisha Whittelsey Collection, The Elisha Whittelsey Fund, 1953. 53.538.8 (pl. 4)
- A7. Plate V, The so-called Voltone di S. Pietro, state i (trimmed at bottom). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Elisha Whittelsey Collection, The Elisha Whittelsey Fund, 1953. 53.538.8 (pl. 5)
- A8. Plate VI, An archway, state i. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Elisha Whittelsey Collection, The Elisha Whittelsey Fund, 1953. 53.538.8 (pl. 6)



In June 1574, after the death of his brother Charles IX, the new king of France, Henry III (1551–1589), began his journey back to France from Poland to mount his throne. He had been named king of Poland in the spring of 1573 and had resided at Cracow since the end of that year. He returned through northern Italy, reaching Mantua in early August. The city staged festivities and decorated the streets to welcome the royal party.

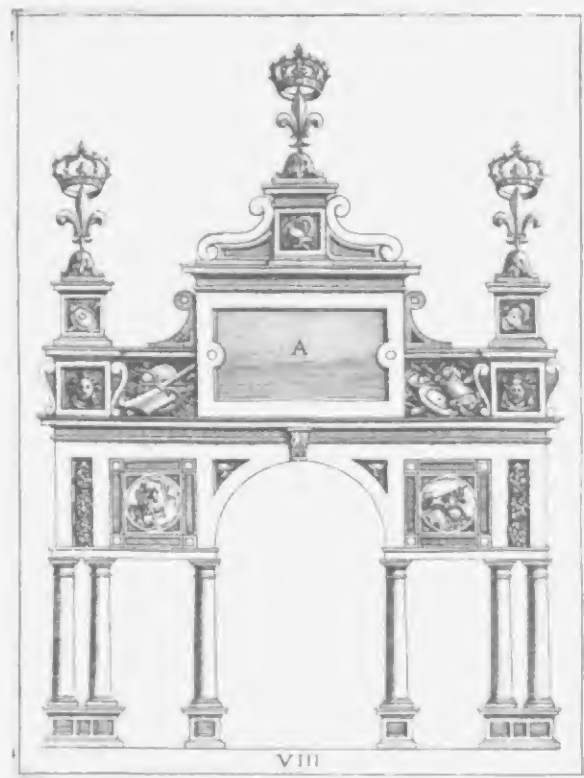
To commemorate this illustrious occasion, eight engravings were made, showing the triumphal arches and statues erected to adorn Mantua for Henry's procession through the city on August 2. These were published, accompanied by a title page (fig. 85), with the Latin inscriptions on the arches and in a few places some descriptive lines in Italian printed on the back of each, in the same year.¹ This edition has no city or publisher's imprint, but it evidently was published in Mantua, as two different watermarks on the pages match those on an early state of *Venus and Adonis* (no. 42) and a later impression of *Tarquin and Lucretia* (no. 2).

The plates were published again, along with a French text by Blaise de Vigenère, in Paris in 1576, and Métral discusses this edition and its illustrations at some length, concluding that the engravings must have been made in France.² Whether the plates were by Ghisi or not, they definitely were produced in Mantua, not in France.

The plates are as follows: I, the bridge over the Pisterle leading to the Palazzo del Te, with statues of Mars and



A9. Plate VII, A statue of Ocno. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Elisha Whittelsey Collection, The Elisha Whittelsey Fund, 1953. 53.538.8 (pl. 7)



A10. Plate VIII, A perpetual monument of friendship between Duke Guglielmo Gonzaga and Henry III, state i. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Elisha Whittelsey Collection, The Elisha Whittelsey Fund, 1953. 53.538.8 (pl. 8)

Fortune; II, the triumphal arch of that bridge, with a statue of France above and Peace and Ceres in niches below; III, the triumphal arch of the Bridge of St. Silvester, with Victory above, and Religion, Prudence, Liberality, and Strength in niches; IIII, two statues in the interior of this archway, one unidentified and the other of Poland; V, the so-called Voltone di S. Pietro, the archway that gives access to the Piazza del Duomo from the via Broletta, with five Labors of Hercules and an image of Henry III; VI, another archway, with statues of Peace and Fame flanking the arms of France, and Gonzaga family arms to right and left; VII, a statue of Ocno, son of Manto, founder of the city; and VIII, a final archway, a perpetual monument to the friendship between Duke Guglielmo Gonzaga and Henry III.³

All of Ghisi's plates in the body of this catalogue are signed; these eight are not. Also, the lines in these are less regular and less heavily incised than in his known work at this date (see no. 50, dated 1574). The foliage in the foreground of the first plate, for instance, is not as precise and finished as in Ghisi's certain work. Nonetheless, as Giorgio was in Mantua at this time, using rooms in the Palazzo del Te (see Introduction), it is logical that he would have been asked to make these plates. If they are his, the need for haste imposed by a short deadline could explain the departure from his usual manner.

Notes:

1. Grateful acknowledgment to David Becker, who first pointed out the set of these plates in the Metropolitan Museum to us. See *Catalogue des livres rares et précieux composant la bibliothèque de M. E.-F.-D. Ruggieri* (Paris: Adolphe Labitte, 1873), no. 293. Ruggieri calls this book simply *Entrata del Christ. Henrico III nella città di Mantova*; he lists neither place nor publisher and does not mention plates. Marani and Perina, *Mantova: Le arti*, III, p. 60, note 127, list a book called *Entrata del Christianissimo Re Henrico III di Francia et di Polonia nella città di Mantova, con gli sontuosissimi apparati, trionfi, et festi fatte da sua Eccellentia, per ricever sua Maestà Christianissima* (Venice, 1574); they do not state whether this book is illustrated. Denyse Métral, *Blaise de Vigenère, archéologue et critique d'art (1523-1596)* (Paris: E. Droz, 1939), p. 203, mentions "le petit livre italien sur le même sujet, qui a servi de modèle à Vigenère, ne comportant pas de gravures."

2. *La/ Somptueuse et/ Magnifique Entrée du/ tres-Chrestien Roy Henry III. / ... En la cité de Mantoue, avec les portraits/ des choses les plus exquis.* (Paris, 1576). See Métral, *Blaise de Vigenère*, pp. 48-50, 202-205, 250, no. iv. This edition is also catalogued in Jacques-Charles Brunet, *Manuel du libraire et de l'amateur de livres*, 8 vols. (Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1860-80), II, p. 1,002; Ernest Vinet, *Bibliographie méthodique et raisonnée des beaux-arts*, 2 pts. (Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1874-77), I, no. 475; and Ruth Mortimer, *Harvard College Library Department of Printing and Graphic Arts, Catalogue of Books and Manuscripts, Part I: French 16th Century Books*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, Belknap Press, 1964), I, no. 207.

3. This brief list combines information from the plates themselves, Métral, *Blaise de Vigenère*, p. 204, and Marani and Perina, *Mantova: Le arti*, III, p. 30. A thorough publication of this series of plates and their inscriptions remains to be done.

Rejected Works

R 1–4 *Four Plates: Neptune and Thetis with Sea Gods and Sea Horses*

After Perino del Vaga

Platemark: 235/245 × 157/163 mm.

States:

- i: Before additional shading, and before all letters.
- ii: With additional shading, probably by the artist. Before all letters.
- iii: Added in bottom blank margin: “Perino del Vaga inu”.

Late, worn impressions, some on machine-made paper.

The Robert-Dumesnil sale catalogue¹ lists these four prints as printed on two sheets.

The plates were in the Calcografia Nazionale until 1823, when they were destroyed as obscene by order of Pope Leo XII, according to Massari.

References:

Bartsch 30–33, Massari 193–96

The style of these four prints, which are certainly by the same engraver, combines a lightness of touch and emphasis on outline that were characteristic of Ghisi's early works with a systematization of the line creating form that he did not achieve until later. Nor is Ghisi's concern with accurate anatomical representations and sculptural delineation in evidence here. None of the four is signed, whereas all of Ghisi's works in the main body of this catalogue have at least a monogram. We do not, however, have a particular name to suggest as the engraver of these prints.

A drawing related to the series by Perino del Vaga reproduced in these prints is in the Albertina.²

Notes:

1. *Robert-Dumesnil Sale VII*, auction cat. (London: Phillips Auction House, May 14–18, 1838), lot 243.
2. Inventory no. 2766. See Davidson, *Perino del Vaga*, no. 43.

R 5 *The Triumph of Bacchus*

After Perino del Vaga

Platemark: 199 × 265 mm. (oval).

State:

Only state. Unsigned and without letters. A light oval borderline, 196 × 263 mm.

References:

Mariette, p. 376; Bartsch 46; Massari 192

The source, which was unknown to Bartsch, is a drawing by Perino del Vaga, in the Louvre.¹ It is one of six designs made to be engraved on crystal for the Casetta Farnese, which are now in the Museo di Capodimonte, Naples. Enea Vico made an engraving² after another of the drawings, also oval in format, in 1543.

Mariette, who owned the drawing, did not accept the attribution to Giorgio.

Notes:

1. Inventory no. 593. Reproduced in *Le seizième siècle européen: Dessins du Louvre*, exhib. cat. (Paris: Musée du Louvre, 1965), no. 232.
2. Bartsch xv.287.14, *Battle of Amazons and Warriors*.

R 6 *A Goddess on a Chariot*

After Primaticcio (?)

Platemark: 177 × 290 mm. (rectangular).

State:

Only state. Unsigned and without letters.

References:

Mariette, p. 373; Bartsch 53; Dimier 71; Herbet III.120.8 (as F. G.)

Dimier places this print under Guido Ruggieri and accepts the attribution of the subject to Primaticcio without locating any painting or drawing for it. Mariette observes that the piece is engraved in the manner of Ruggieri. We concur.

R 7 *Jupiter and Callisto*

After Primaticcio

Platemark: 285 × 440 mm. (rectangular top, wedge-shaped bottom).

States:

- i: Without letters or monogram.
- ii: With "A. FONTANA. BLEO. BOL INVENTOR."

References:

Bartsch 59, Massari 229

The figures are not well drawn, the faces and bodies lack both anatomical knowledge and expressive skill, and the style of engraving does not resemble Ghisi's early work. This print may be by the same hand as Bartsch's "Pièce Douteuse," *Penelope and Her Women Weaving*.¹

Note:

1. Bartsch xv.416.2.

R 8 *The Prison*

After Giulio Romano

Platemark: 280 × 420/423 mm.

States:

- i: Before letters. The drapery around the neck of the seated prisoner, left rear, has unshaded areas on its front edges. A light borderline all around, about 4 mm. inside platemark.

We have seen only one impression in this state, at the Albertina (It.I.30).

- ii: The initials "I.R." (Giulio Romano) engraved at bottom of the forward side of the bench at left. The entire cloth draped around the neck of the seated prisoner, left rear, is shaded.

- iii: Added, across bottom, in large script: "Reatus Diverse, acriter, July Caesaris Imperatoris institia torquet".

Impressions are light to very light and worn.

- iv: Added at right, below the figure imprisoned in the floor: "Io. Bapt^a de Rubeis in Platea Agona. Romae."

- v: The de Rubeis address erased and replaced by "Romae apud Carolum Losi 1773".

Impressions are very light and worn.

Copy:

Anonymous. Engraving, in the same direction, 273 × 415 mm. On the end of the bench at left, the monogram "MAF" instead of Giulio Romano's initials.

References:

Bartsch 66; Passavant 66 and iv, p. 102; Massari 8 (as G. B. Scultori)

Bartsch places this print in Giorgio's oeuvre on the basis of the general attribution to him, but comments that it is perhaps more in the manner of Georg Pencz. Passavant inclines toward Pencz, as do Robert-Dumesnil¹ and others. Yet other scholars, such as Gori Gandellini, Albricci, and Massari, attribute it to Giovanni Battista Scultori. We are quite sure that it is not Ghisi's work, but have no contribution to make as to its attribution.

Other versions:

1. By Antonio Fantuzzi. Etching, 290 × 420 mm. Fantuzzi's monogram, lower right, on the hinge at left of the man buried in the floor. There is a high barred window in the left wall, as well as other differences. Herbert II.82.67, Zerner AF 12.
2. Anonymous. Etching, in reverse, 270 × 415 mm. Without letters.
3. Anonymous. Engraving, in reverse, 194 × 240 mm. A quite different version, using some elements from Giulio's composition—the two figures looking out the rear window, the man hung by his hands, and the man buried in the floor—but showing a saint (or Christ?) and others visiting the prisoners. With "M. de Vos inuentor. firens ex.",² lower left, and "IN CARCERE ERAM ET VENISTIS AD ME" in large letters in the lower margin.

There is an engraved reverse copy of this version, without the de Vos and Firens address, but with the same inscription in the bottom margin. 195 × 243 mm.

Notes:

1. *Robert-Dumesnil Sale VII*, note to lot 251.
2. Presumably Pierre I Firens, active as a publisher in Paris from about 1600 to 1638.

Watermarks

Watermarks, illustrated

The watermarks are shown at one-half actual size in height and width. The laid lines indicated equal one centimeter. All drawings were made from beta-radiographs except the following: direct tracings on a light box were made of watermark numbers 5, 7, 15, 16, 47, and 48; drawings were made from Dylux paper exposures of watermark numbers 9, 26, 35, and 42. The beta-radiographs were made by contact exposures of X-ray film, with the print under a carbon-14-coated methyl methacrylate sheet, the source of the beta rays. Dylux paper is a product similar to blueprint paper, which produces a positive image when exposed to fluorescent light, followed by ultraviolet light. The most accurate images are produced by radiography, the second in accuracy are direct tracings, and least accurate are drawings made from Dylux exposures.

The radiographs, tracings, and final drawings were made by Assistant Conservator Betty Fiske.

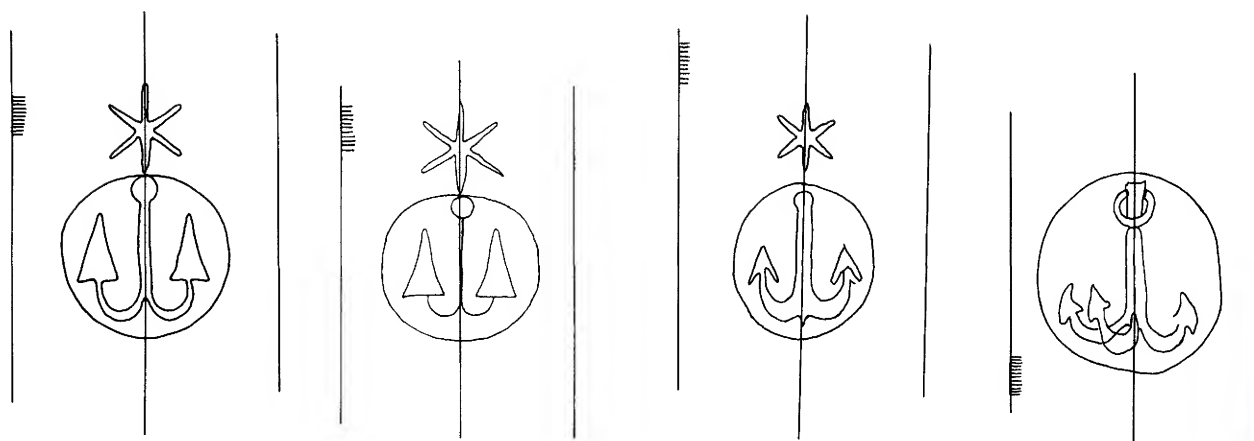
The following works are cited below in abbreviated form:

B. Briquet, C. M. *Les filigranes, dictionnaire historique des marques du papier dès leurs apparition vers 1282 jusqu'en 1600*, 4 vols. Jubilee ed. Amsterdam: The Paper Publications Society, 1968.

H. Heawood, Edward. *Watermarks, Mainly of the 17th and 18th Centuries*. Hilversum: The Paper Publications Society, 1950.

P. Piccard, Gerhard. *Die Wasserzeichenkartei Piccard im Hauptstaatsarchiv Stuttgart*, 10 vols. Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1961+.

Z. Zonghi, Aurelio. *Zonghi's Watermarks (Aurelio & Augusto Zonghi, A. F. Gasparinetti)*. Hilversum: The Paper Publications Society, 1953.

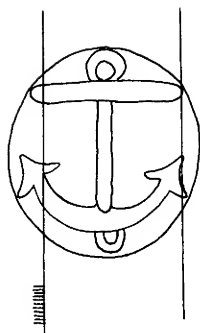


1. Anchor in circle with star. See B. 485 (Padua, Parma, 1547-53), 524 (Reggio Emilia, 1552) and P. VI, V, 311 (Überlingen, 1541). Nos. 2 (late impression), 8i, 24 (text), A5i, A9i

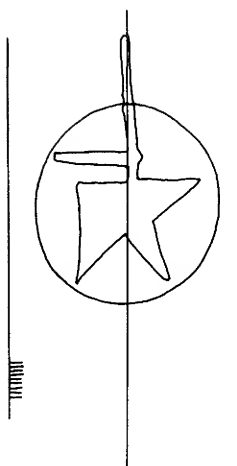
2. Anchor in circle with star. See B. 548, 554, 558, 563 (Udine, Verona, Ferrara, 1563-90) and P. VI, V, 105-106 (Trent, Venice, 1572-73). Nos. 2 (late impression), 50i, 56i

3. Anchor in circle with star. B. 488 (Ferrara, 1583). No. 35iii

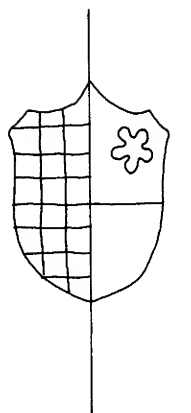
4. Anchor in circle. Not in B., H., P., or Z. Nos. 1 (early impression), 2 (early impression)



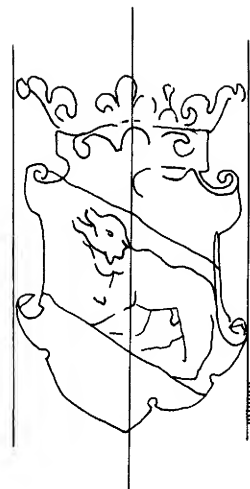
5. Anchor in circle. Not in B., H., P., or Z. Nos. 7i, 10ii



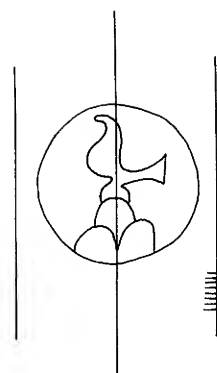
6. Anvil in circle. See B. 5965 (Rome, 1578–80). No. 8ii



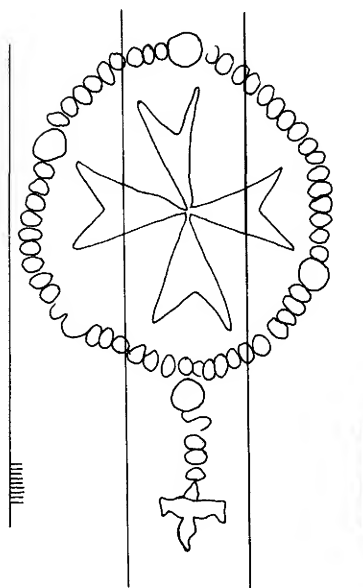
7. Arms with flower and grid. Not in B., H., P., or Z. No. 3 (good impression)



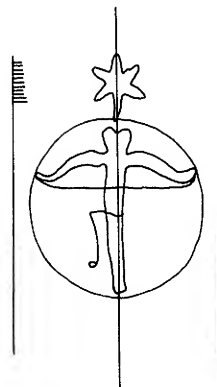
8. Bear in crowned shield. See H. 280 (Bern, 1650). No. 11 (left plate) iv and (right plate) iii



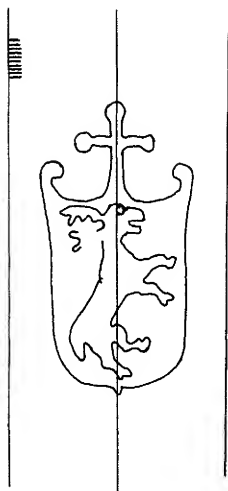
9. Bird on three mounds in circle. See B. 12250 (Rome, 1566–75; Lille, 1571–83) and H. 160–65 (London, Rome, Naples, 1646–80). No. 30ii or iii



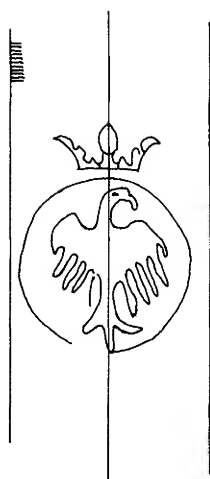
10. Chaplet with large Maltese cross inside. See H. 226 (Paris, 1683). No. 26iv



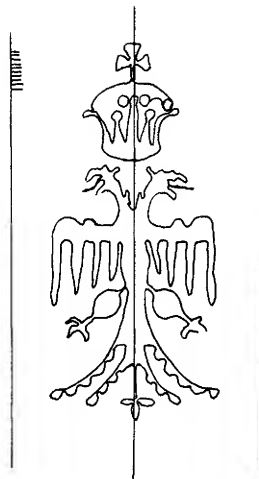
11. Crossbow in circle with star. See B. 760 (Florence, 1523). No. 53ii



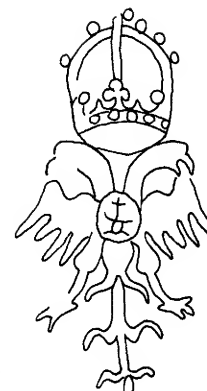
12. Deer in shield with cross. Z. 899 (1569) or 904 (1566). See also B. 3338 (citing Likhatscheff, 1567). No. 2iii



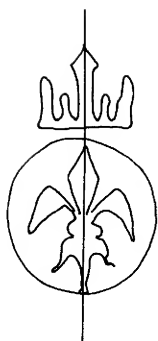
13. Eagle in crowned circle. See B. 207 (Rome, 1573-76), 209 (Verona, 1582-96) and Z. 726-27 (1576-99). Nos. 19iii, 43i and iii



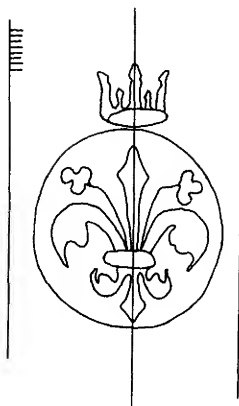
14. Double-headed crowned eagle. B. 247 (Mantua, 1571). Nos. 35ii, 36ii



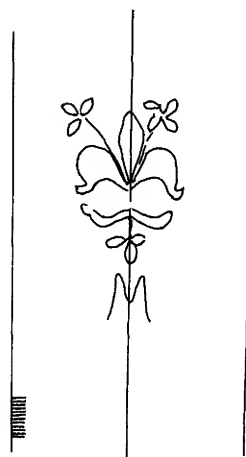
15. Double-headed crowned eagle. B. 304 (Würzburg, Leipzig, Prague, 1552-85). Nos. 11 (left and right plates) ii, 12ii, 13, 16iii



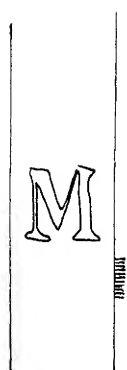
16. Fleur-de-lys in crowned circle. See H. 1632 (Rome, 1600s). No. 38 (early impression)



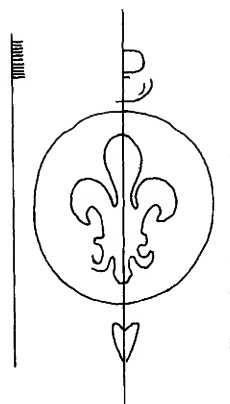
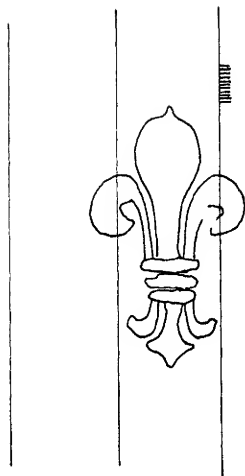
17. Fleur-de-lys with flowers in crowned circle. See B. 7110-13 (Vienna, Perugia, Salerno, Ferrara, 1525-75). No. 33iii



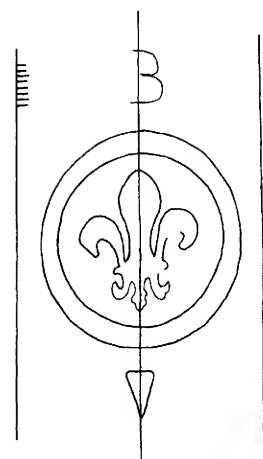
18. Fleur-de-lys with flowers, M below. See B. 7294-7300 (Italy, 1525-82). Nos. 44i, 48i



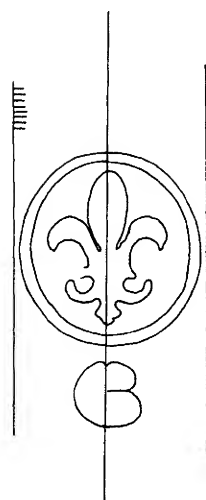
19. Fleur-de-lys with M countermark. See B. 7017 (Siegen, 1588) and H. 1530–55 (northern Europe, 1707–80). No. 29iii



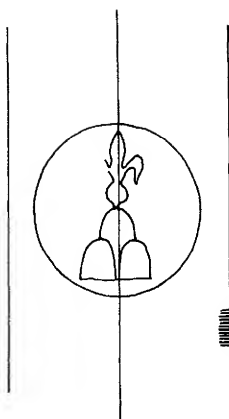
20. Fleur-de-lys in circle with B and arrow. See B. 7119 (Salerno, 1600) and H. 1584 (Lisbon, 1777). Nos. 30iii?, 33iii



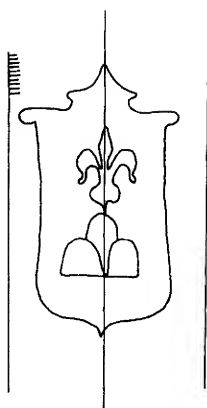
21. Fleur-de-lys in double circle with B and arrow. See H. 1602 (Naples, 1784). Nos. 44iv, 45iv, 46iv, 47ii, 48iii, 49iiia



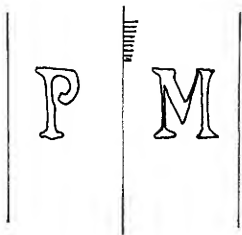
22. Fleur-de-lys in double circle with CB. H. 1599–1600 (Rome, 1762). No. 21v



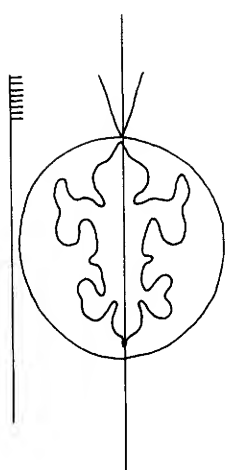
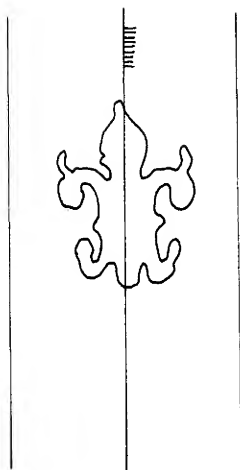
23. Fleur-de-lys on three mounds in circle. See H. 1619–26 (Florence, Rome, 1619–93) and Massari, p. 377 (unidentified). Nos. 10ii, 29iii



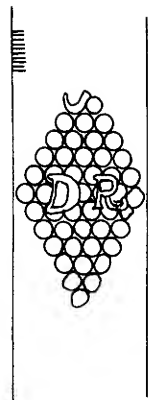
24. Fleur-de-lys on three mounds in shield. B. 11936 (Lucca, 1583). No. 52ii



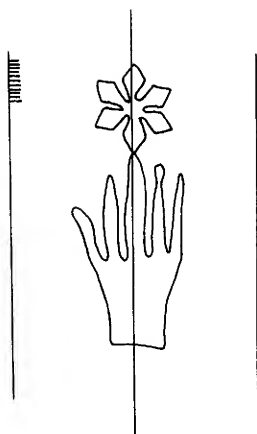
25. Fleur-de-lys with PM countermark. See H. 1594 (n.d.). No. 19iv



26. Fleur-de-lys in circle with V. Not in B., H., P., or Z. Nos. 30iii?, 33iii



27. Bunch of grapes with DR. B. 13154 (Lyons, 1533) and Massari, p. 381. Nos. 26ii, 27iii



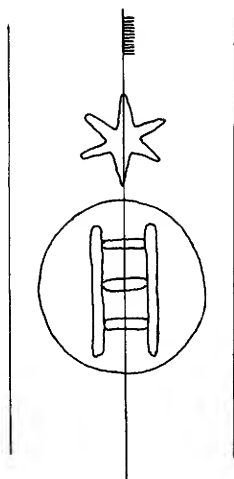
28. Hand with large six-petalled flower. See B. 10701 (citing Likhatscheff 3943, 1579). No. 60ii



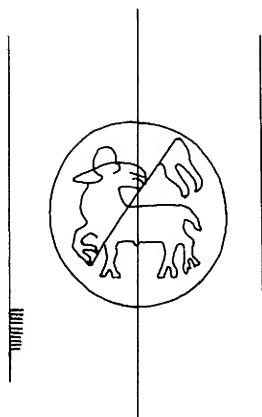
29. Horn in shield. See B. 7862 (Brabant, 1593); H. 2636 (Netherlands, 1586), 2646 (Antwerp, 1598); and P. VII, X, 121 (Mainz, 1621). No. 16iii



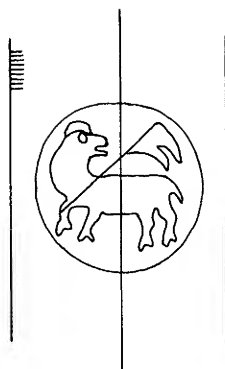
30. Jug, one handle, two flowers. B. 12523 (Thors, 1551). Nos. 30i or ii, 31i, 32i, 33i, 34ii, 35ii, 36ii, 37ii



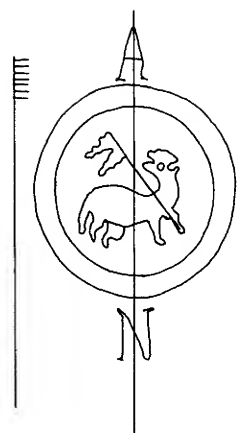
31. Ladder in circle with star. See B. 5920 (Venice, 1491) and Z. 1548–56 (1494–1538). Nos. 5i and ii, 7ii, 8i



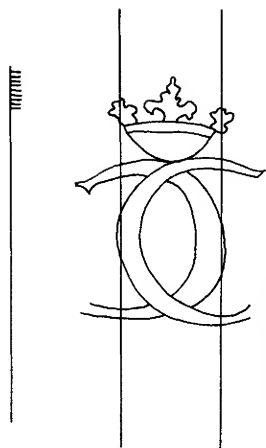
32. Paschal lamb in circle. See B. 47–50 (Italy, 1484–1535) and Z. 1675–81 (1542–73). Nos. 34iv, 36iii, 37iv



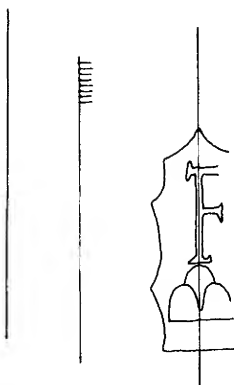
33. Paschal lamb in circle. See B. 47–50 (Italy, 1484–1535) and Z. 1675 (1542–73). Nos. 44ii, 45i, 46i, 47i, 48i, 49i, 52ii, 58i



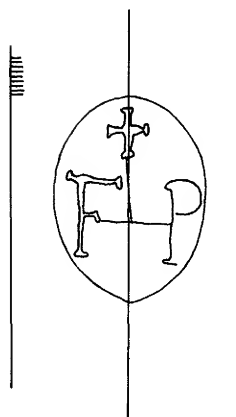
34. Paschal lamb in double circle with A above, N below. See H. 2838 (Rome, 1647–74). Nos. 9 (pls. I and L v, others ii), 39 (de Rubeis edition), 44iv, 45iv, 46iv, 47ii, 48iii



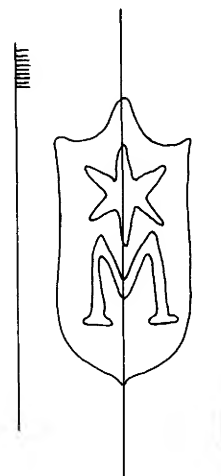
35. Letters: Crowned, interlaced C's. H. 2890 (Amsterdam, 1633). No. 11 (left plate) iii, (right plate) ii



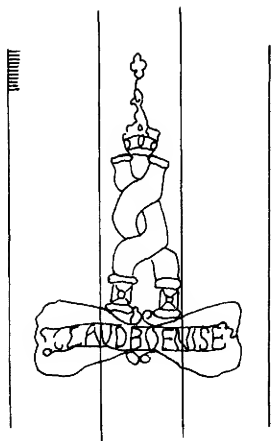
36. Letters: F and three mounds in shield. See B. 11939 (Ferrara, 1598) and Z. 1701 (1564). No. 29iii



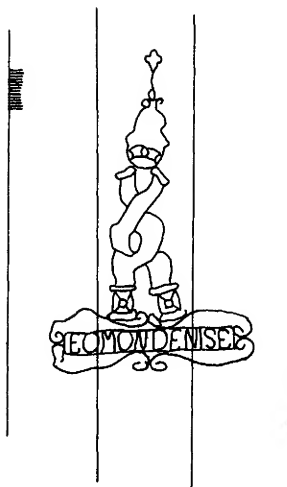
37. Letters: F and P with cross above in circle. Not in B., H., or Z. No. 38 (early impression)



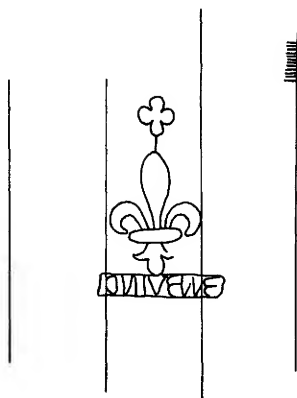
38. Letters: M and star in shield. See B. 8392 (Ferrara, 1580), H. 3026 (Rome, ca. 1580), and Z. 1778–1842 (1570–98). Nos. 7ii, 10iv, 21ii, 42ii, 50i, 57i, 58i, 59i



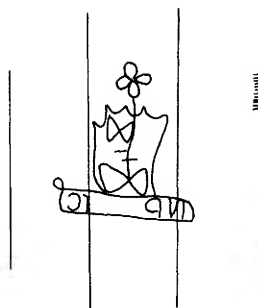
39. Letters: CLAUDE DENISE with entwined columns, crown, and flower above. B. 4435 (Paris, 1588). Nos. 26ii?, 27iii, 4iii?



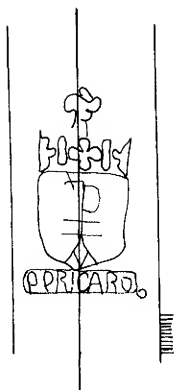
40. Letters: EDMON DENISE with entwined columns, crown, and flower above. See B. 4432-34 (France, 1556-67). Nos. 14 (bottom plate) iv, 26ii?, 4iii?



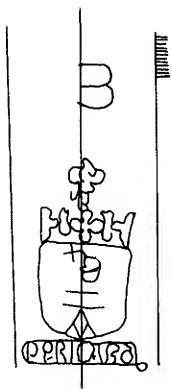
41. Letters: J NIVELLE with fleur-de-lys and flower above. See B. 7080-88 (France, 1540-82) and H. 1446 (Antwerp, 1570). No. 4iii



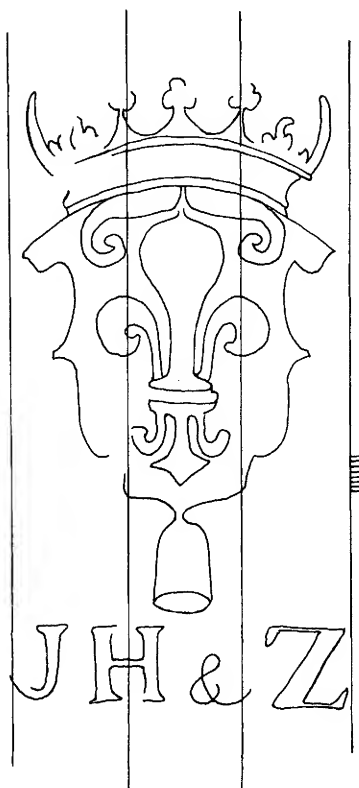
42. Letters: C. PINETE(?) with shield and flower above. See B. 9869-72 (Netherlands, northern France, 1534-49). No. 11 (left and right plates) ii



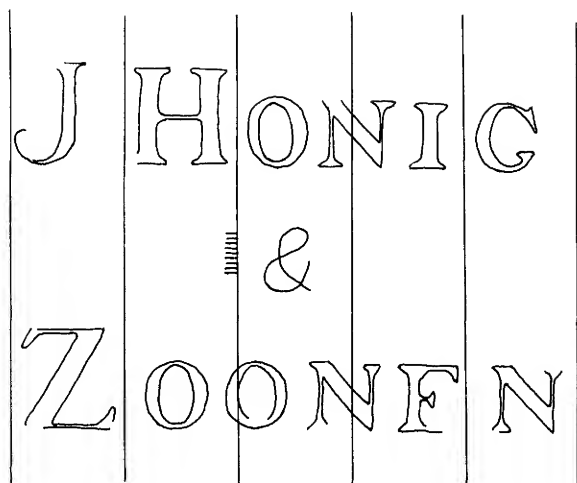
43. Letters: P PRICARD with shield and flower above. B. 9613 (Namur, 1547). Nos. 18i, 3ii



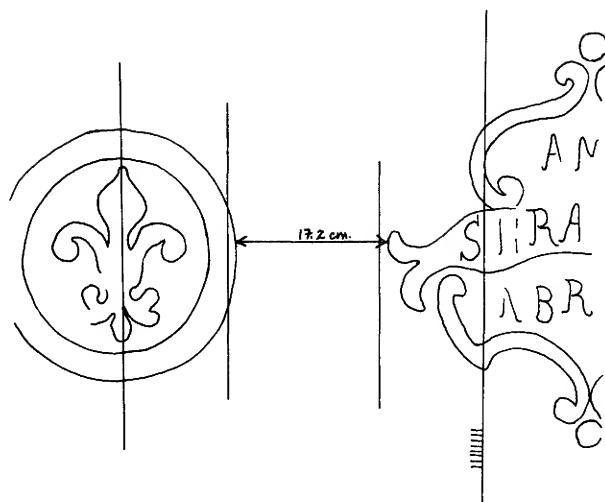
44. Letters: P PRICARD with shield and flower and B above. See B. 9613 (Namur, 1547). Nos. 19i, 30i, 33i or ii, 36ii, 39 (early impression)



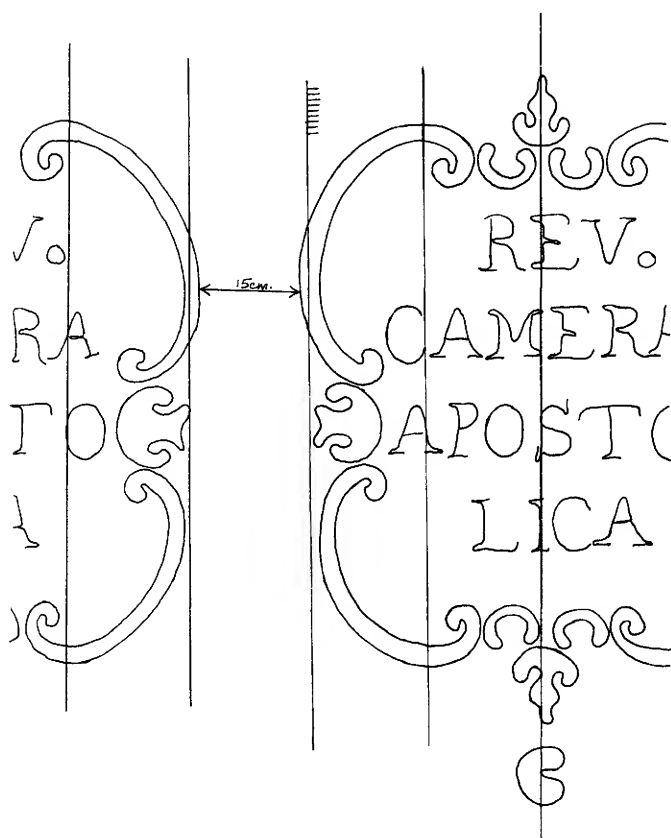
45. Letters: J H & Z with fleur-de-lys on shield. H. 1860 (Bern, 1779?). No. 15vi



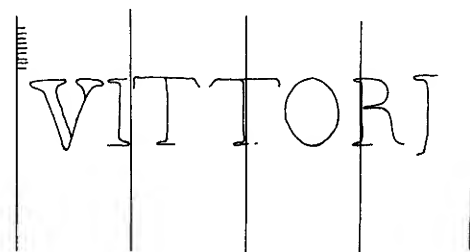
46. Letters: J. HONIG/ &/
ZOONEN. H. 3344 (Bern,
1787). Nos. 5vi, 15vi



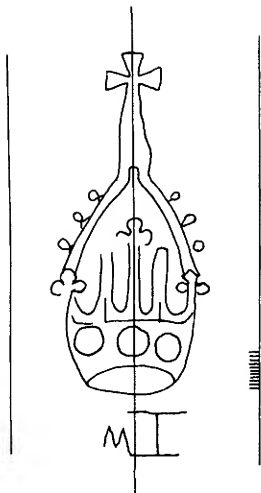
47. Letters: AMG/ SERA-
FINI/ FABRIANO in shield
(portion) with fleur-de-lys in
double circle countermark.
See H. 3323 (Rome, 1690)
and Massari, p. 374. No.
18iii



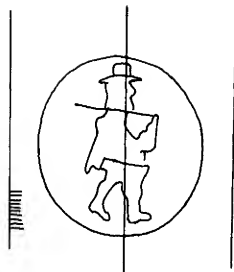
48. Letters: REV./CAM-
ERA/APOSTO/LICA in
shield. Not in B., H., or Z.
No. 18iii



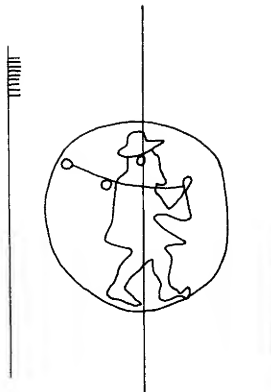
49. Letters: VITTORI. Not
in B., H., or Z. No. 42vii



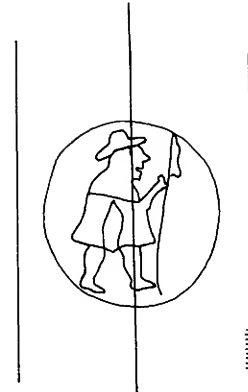
50. Bishop's miter with cross above, MI below. See B. 4933 (Reggio Emilia, 1556–59). No. 24



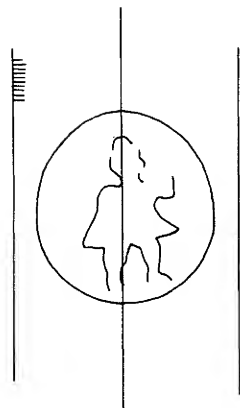
51. Pilgrim with horizontal staff in circle. See B. 7576 (Udine, ca. 1573) and Z. 1703–12 (1549–98). Nos. 56iii, 57i



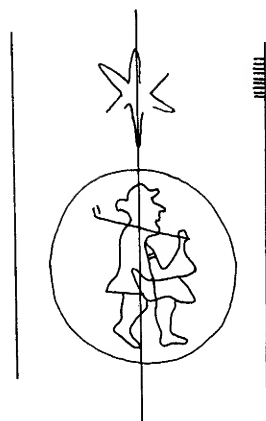
52. Pilgrim with horizontal staff in circle. See B. 7576 (Udine, ca. 1593); Z. 1710 (1597); and Massari, p. 382. No. 56iv



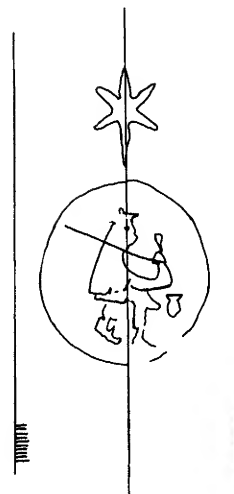
53. Pilgrim with vertical staff in circle. See Z. 1715–19 (1572–82). Nos. 5iii, 15iii



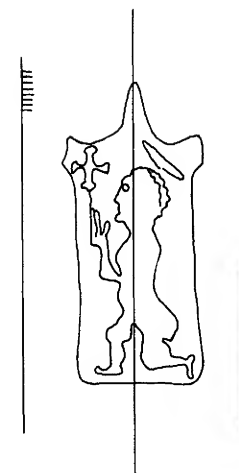
54. Pilgrim with horizontal staff (?) in circle. See B. 7576 (Udine, ca. 1573). No. 50ii



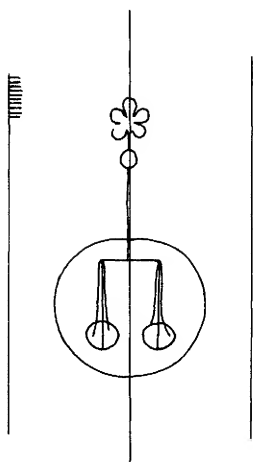
55. Pilgrim with horizontal staff in circle with star. See B. 7578 (Pisa, 1573) and Z. 1720–23 (1578–96). Nos. 44iii, 44iv?, 45i?, 46ii?, 58i?



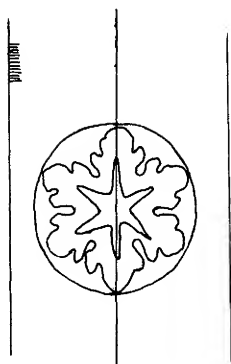
56. Pilgrim with horizontal staff in circle with star. See B. 7578 (Pisa, 1573) and Z. 1720–23 (1578–93). No. 29i



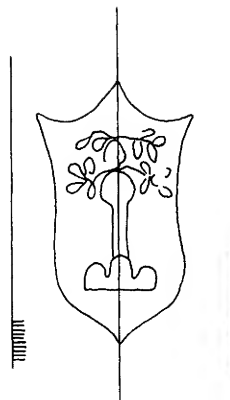
57. Kneeling saint with cross in shield. See H. 1346–52 (Rome, 1570–1638) and Z. 1691–94 (1591–99). Nos. 4ii, 9 (pls. I and L iv, others ii), 44iv, 45ii, 46iii, 48iii, 49iia



58. Scales in circle with flower above. Not in B., H., P., or Z. Nos. 42ii, A8i



59. Star and flower in circle. Not in B., H., or Z. No. 2 (early impression)



60. Tree on mounds in shield. See B. 969 (Lucca, 1573–82) and Z. 1740 (1576). No. 55i

Watermarks, not illustrated

61. Fleur-de-lys in crowned circle. See B. 7110–13 (Vienna, Italy, 1525–70) and H. 1627–33 (Rome, 1602–58). Nos. 44iv, 45iii, 46iv, 47ii, 48iii, 49iiia, 50iii

62. Large fleur-de-lys in circle with M below. See H. 1585 (Naples, 1752). No. 57iii

63. Fleur-de-lys in double circle. See H. 1636–37 (Rome, 1693–1705). No. 15vi

64. Fleur-de-lys over three mounds in circle. See H. 1616–18, 1621 (Rome, 1630–74). Nos. 19iii, 24?, 59i

65. Fleur-de-lys over three mounds in double circle. See H. 1619, 1626 (Florence, 1619–20). No. 24?

66. Hand with four-petalled flower. See B. 11417–32 (France, Netherlands, 1477–1554). No. 38 (early impression)

67. Letters: Crowned, interlaced D's, flower above. See H. 1056–57, 1061 (Netherlands, 1562–69). No. 14 (top plate) ii and (bottom plate) iv

68. Letters: IHS with cross above H, in circle. See B. 9467 (Vicenza, 1527–38). Nos. 42iv, 50iii

69. Letters: H in heart. See H. 2945 (London, 1612) and Massari, p. 381. No. 14 (top plate) ii and (bottom plate) iv

70. Letters: PM with serifs. Not in B., H., or Z. Nos. 9 (pls. I and L v, others ii), 12iv, 18iii, 33iii, 39 (late impression)

71. Shield with 1546 below. B. 1182 (Amsterdam, 1546–50). Nos. 34i, 35i, 36i

Appendices

Summaries of Letters from Giorgio Ghisi

The following summaries of Giorgio Ghisi's letters were written by Gabriella Befani Canfield from her translations of the unpublished originals. The letters are in the Archivio di Stato of Mantua, Archivio Gonzaga. The box (*busta*) number is given with each letter.

1562 15 December from Paris

A letter of six lines, not counting opening and closing salutations, date, and signature, written to an unidentified patron.

Ghisi blames the humidity for his having been unable to finish all he had promised to do. He stresses that the arrival of Hipolito, the courier, has given him great relief as Hipolito is bearing the patron's recommendations, for which Ghisi will be eternally grateful. He closes the letter by begging his unknown correspondent to send him his commands as soon as possible.
(busta 653)

1578 25 February from Mantua

A letter of fifteen lines, not counting opening and closing salutations, date, and signature, written to Duke Guglielmo Gonzaga.

In this letter Ghisi alerts the duke that he is sending along the requested collar. Following the duke's request, he lists the materials necessary to continue the work: ground gold and silver, three or four dozen small brushes, and as many medium-sized brushes made of duck feathers. Ghisi also thanks the duke for the favor bestowed on his wife and reports her delight on hearing about the soap.

The various references to the collar, the favor bestowed on his wife, and the soap are all unclear.
(busta 2606)

1579 12 June from Mantua

A letter of fifteen lines with a four-line postscript, not counting opening and closing salutations, date, and signature, written to the duke.

Ghisi tells the duke that he is sending along samples of embroidery on different fabrics and in different colors and a drawing for some stockings. He humbly expresses his opinion that the embroidery would look better on cloth than on velvet and on a turquoise or green background, and he suggests that the cloth should be bought from Milan or Ferrara. He hopes the duke will write back his instructions as soon as possible so that the embroiderer will not remain idle. Ghisi very obliquely asks for money so that he can settle the accounts with the workers.
(busta 2609)

1579 8 October from Mantua

A letter of ten lines, not counting opening and closing salutations, date, and signature, written to the duke.

Ghisi alerts the duke that he is sending this letter along with a very important one from the marchesa of Ferrara through a

carter whom he judges to be trustworthy. Also sent along are a crossbow and other weapons with ammunition. Ghisi reminds the duke that he is still awaiting instructions concerning the slippers for the marchesa of Ferrara.
(busta 2609)

1581 12 May from Mantua

A letter of twelve lines, not counting opening and closing salutations, date, and signature, addressed to Prince Vincenzo Gonzaga.

Ghisi expresses his overwhelming gratitude to the prince for having forgiven him a fine of 200 scudi. Ghisi assures the prince that this sign of benevolence will add ten years to his life, a life that has always been devoted and always will be devoted to the prince, his patron.

It is not clear from this letter for what offense Ghisi had been fined.
(busta 2615)

1581 30 August from Mantua

A letter of eight lines, not counting opening and closing salutations, date, and signature, possibly written to the duke's secretary.

Ghisi writes about the great financial difficulties encountered by the embroiderers who are owed two months' pay. He hopes the addressee will relay the message to His Highness and have the money sent immediately. He suggests also that in case there are not enough funds to cover the whole debt, the duke would please send partial payment. Some of the embroiderers have had to incur heavy debts in order to dress and feed themselves.
(busta 2615)

1581 19 October from Mantua

A letter of five lines, not counting opening and closing salutations, date, and signature, addressed to Marcello Donati, secretary to the duke.

Ghisi alerts Donati that attached to this letter he will find two samples of embroidery for two pairs of boots for ladies' that had been requested by His Highness. He asks Donati to show them to His Highness as soon as possible: if the samples are not acceptable Ghisi wants to begin a new design immediately, and if acceptable he will command the embroiderers to start work immediately.
(busta 2615)

Note:

1. The term used in the text is "chiapin," an archaic word that can be translated in modern Italian as "stivaletto, calzare da donna, pianella." It means shoes or boots for women only, and was originally a boot with a high platform worn by women to look taller. The word derives from the Spanish "chapin," first used in 1389, and is onomatopoeic—from "chap," the sound made when walking in these shoes.

1581 8 November from Mantua

A letter of thirty-two lines with a two-line postscript, not counting opening and closing salutations, date, signature, and the brief notation that this letter had been hand-delivered by Ghisi to Gabriello Andreasio; addressed to Marcello Donati, secretary to the duke.

This letter is in answer to a request made by His Highness to Ghisi through Donati. Ghisi had been asked to send back to court a large quantity of arrows and some satin, apparently not easy tasks.

Ghisi reports that no arrows can be found in the storerooms and as he did not have the keys for the Palata he could not check the exact amount stored there. The people in charge have told him that there might be about three dozen and that they will be sent to the court the following morning. Ghisi has been able to requisition an additional 150 arrows from Telano, 100 from Cicogna, and four dozen, along with two crossbows, from Sebastiano. Messer Sebastiano has requested immediate payment, so Ghisi has had to take the amount out of his own pay. Ghisi also begs Donati to report to His Highness the difficulties he has had to overcome in acquiring two and a half *braccia* (a measure roughly equivalent to one yard) of dark satin from Alessandro Fontanella for His Highness's stockings: no one is willing to sell him anything on credit any longer.

Ghisi complains that it has become increasingly impossible for him to go to the market square, as all the creditors surround him as soon as they see him, requesting prompt payment. Ghisi is also having problems finding the gold thread needed by his embroiderers. But his main concern is the fate of one Matthew, embroiderer, who cannot be lodged and fed at the court's expense nor have his salary paid, as his name is written incorrectly on the lists. Ghisi ends by declaring how he has had to feed Matthew at his own expense. (busta 2615)

1581 19 December from Mantua

A letter of sixteen lines, not counting opening and closing salutations, date, and signature, addressed to Marcello Donati, secretary to the duke.

Ghisi asks Donati to alert the duke that he is sending along four skins of wild boar through Messer Bartolommeo, and he asks that someone be made responsible for their safekeeping, as two of the skins sent previously have disappeared already. Ghisi also acknowledges receipt of twelve glass panels for the duke's coach that had been brought by the day's mail coach. He sends along a bill for 36 lire and begs Donati to send the money immediately, as any delay in payment would bring great shame to the duke and make all of them seem penniless. From the same supplier Ghisi has also received an ounce of pearls on approval but has decided to return them as the asking price is too high. He will try to make a silver braid to look like a string of pearls and use that instead.

Ghisi also tells Donati that he will send along with the first available courier the lists of all creditors so that he, Donati, can start discussing them with His Highness. (busta 2615)

1582 August from Mantua

A letter of twelve lines, not counting opening and closing salutations, with incomplete date, written to an unknown correspondent.

Ghisi reports that the duke and the prince of Mantua have

promised to take care, on his behalf, of a fine of 222 scudi levied against Ghisi by one Messer Aurelio Cistolfi from Luzara. Ghisi informs his correspondent that he has attached the necessary petition for him to pass along for His Highness's signature to complete the amnesty process. He assures the addressee that he realizes the immensity of this request and assures him of his everlasting gratitude even in the eventuality that he might not be able to oblige this time. Ghisi stresses that his feelings of indebtedness to him are enormous, as his previous requests have always been granted.

It is not clear from the letter why the penalty was levied against Ghisi. (busta 2617)

1582 26 November from Mantua

A letter of seven lines, not counting opening and closing salutations, date, and signature, addressed to the prince of Mantua.

Ghisi tells His Highness that by evening the embroiderers will have finished his costume and he will have everything ready to start the rug for the horse. All that is needed is the money to buy the velvet. The design for the rug will be a composition of siskins and monograms. Ghisi reminds the prince that he is still waiting for the promised skin of wild boar. (busta 2619)

1582 2 December from Mantua

A letter of eleven lines and a single-line postscript, not counting opening and closing salutations, date, and signature, addressed to Marcello Donati, secretary to the duke.

Ghisi begs Donati to ask the prince of Mantua to recommend to one of the duke's secretaries the attached petition of an unnamed friend of Ghisi's. The friend, gravely ill, is begging to be allowed to remain for the coming winter in his present lodgings as they seem to be better for his health. Ghisi's friend and his wife are willing to pay the same amount of taxes as if they were residing in Mantua. The friend, Ghisi explains, has come to him as he has been advised that the permission would be granted more easily if the prince would favor his petition. (busta 2619)

Ghisi's Publishers

HARMAN (HERMAN) ADOLFFSZ (ADOLFZ)

A Haarlem printmaker and publisher, Adolffsz worked from about 1603 to 1622, according to Waller.¹ Little is known of his activities other than his publication of seven Hendrik Goltzius engravings in penultimate or final states and sixteen plates acquired from the Parisian publisher Paul de la Houve.² Drugulin³ and others have mentioned that Adolffsz had connections in France, without specifying what they were.

The latest prints we have seen with Adolffsz's address are the three Roman sculptures by Goltzius⁴ dated 1617. He published the fourth state of Ghisi's *Allegory of Life* (no. 28), succeeding the Parisian publisher Jean II de Gourmont (see de Gourmont) and followed by Joannes Meysens (see Meysens).

Notes:

1. F. G. Waller, *Biographische Woordenboek van Noord Nederlandsche Graveurs* (1938. Reprint, Amsterdam: B. M. Israel, 1974), p. 422.
2. Isabelle de Ramaix, "Paul de la Houve," 2 pts. *Le livre et l'estampe*, 26 (1980), pp. 7–69; 27 (1981), pp. 219–30.
3. Cited by F. W. Unger in Julius Meyer, *Allgemeines Künstler-Lexicon*, 3 vols. (Leipzig: Engelmann, 1872–85), I, p. 84.
4. Hollstein (Dutch and Flemish) VIII.33.145–47.

NICOLAS (NICOLO) VAN AELST

Van Aelst was born in Brussels.¹ According to Schmidt,² he worked in Rome from about 1550 and died there in 1615. However, we believe that his birth date was probably in the 1550s and that he could not have arrived in Rome before the 1570s, since the earliest print we have seen with his address is dated 1585. He acquired all the Ghisi plates published earlier by Pietro Facchettus (see Facchettus) and also published later states of *The Mocking of the Prisoners* (no. 4), *Venus and Adonis* (no. 42), *The Crucifixion with Mourning Angels* (no. 56), *The Trinity* (no. 57), and *The Farnese Hercules* (no. 58). A portrait of Pope Paul V, dated 1605, locates van Aelst as "in contro Alla Pace,"³ close to the Giuseppe Rossi "alla Pace" that was to become the major print publishing firm in Rome during the seventeenth century (see Giuseppe Rossi). A number of van Aelst's plates passed to the Rossi family and subsequently into the Papal Calcografia.

Notes:

1. Inscription on the second state of an Antonio Tempesta print (Bartsch xvii.144.557): "Nicolaus van Aelst nationa belga, patria Bruxellesis aeneis figuris incisas suma con animi divotione, dicavit" (El Escorial, 28-I-15).
2. W. Schmidt in Meyer, *Künstler-Lexicon*, I, pp. 99ff.
3. Ibid., p. 100, no. 15.

CRISTOFORO (CRISTOFANO) BLANCO (BIANCHI, BLANC)

Blanco worked as a printmaker, publisher, and dealer in Rome from about 1595, the date on his edition of *The Vision of Ezekiel* (no. 15), to 1612, the date on a portrait of Michelangelo engraved by Blanco himself. He is said to have been of French

origin.¹ The only Ghisi print on which his address appears is the fourth state of *The Vision of Ezekiel*, which later passed to Giovanni Battista Rossi (see G. B. Rossi).

Note:

1. See A. Bertolotti, *Artisti francesi in Roma nei secoli XV, XVI e XVII, ricerche e studi negli archivi romani* (Mantua: G. Mondovi, 1886), pp. 94–96, 224.

JACQUES CARPENTIER (CHARPENTIER)

Carpentier's address appears on the last state of *The Last Supper* (no. 12), previously published by Hieronymus Cock (see Cock). The fact that Carpentier published this plate and another¹ after Lambert Lombard suggests that he may have worked in Antwerp. It seems safe to assume that he acquired the plate after the death of Cock's widow in 1600. The impressions we have seen with his address show considerable wear.

Note:

1. See Karl Heinrich von Heineken, *Dictionnaire des artistes, dont nous avons des estampes, avec une notice détaillée de leurs ouvrages gravées*, 4 vols. (Leipzig: Jean Gottlob Immanuel Breitkopf, 1778–90), IV, p. 41. This is the engraving related to *The Last Supper* (see fig. 39).

VINCENZO CENCI (CENSI)

Active in Rome during the first half of the seventeenth century, Cenci published only one of Ghisi's works, *The Last Judgment* (no. 9), which is inscribed "Vincenzo Cenci le stampa in Roma all'Insegna delli tre Gigli d'Oro alla dogana 1650" (at the sign of the three golden lilies, near the Customs House). Few prints with his address are known; all are later impressions of plates previously published by Nicolas van Aelst (see van Aelst).

HIERONYMUS COCK

Born in Antwerp about 1520, Cock was a painter, printmaker, and art dealer as well as a print publisher. In 1548 he founded Aux Quatre Vents, which was to become the most important print publishing firm outside Italy until it was closed at the death of his widow in 1600; Cock himself had died in 1570. He is thought to have gone to Rome about 1546–48, just before starting his business. If so, he must have visited the impressive publishing houses of Antonio Lafreri (see Lafreri) and Salamanca, which had no counterpart in the Low Countries at that time. He may have met and hired Giorgio Ghisi in Rome.¹

Cock published *The School of Athens* (no. 11) in 1550; *The Last Supper* (no. 12) in 1551; *The Dispute on the Holy Sacrament* (no. 13) in 1552; *The Nativity* (no. 14), dated 1553, in 1554; and *The Judgment of Paris* (no. 16) in 1555. The appearance of these large and brilliantly executed engravings, two of them after monuments of the Italian Renaissance and all but one after Italian Renaissance artists, certainly helped to establish Aux Quatre Vents as an influential and innovative force in Antwerp print publishing.²

The plate of *The Last Supper* passed to Jacques Carpentier

(see Carpentier) after the close of Aux Quatre Vents. Although there are impressions on mid-seventeenth-century paper of some of the other Ghisi prints Cock published, Cock's name and the imperial privilege were never removed from the plates nor were other publishers' names added.

Notes:

1. Riggs, *Hieronymus Cock*, pp. 29–30.
2. *Ibid.*, pp. 46–47.

JACQUES (J., I., JACQ., JACOBUS) CRANTHOMÉ (GRANTHOMÉ, GRAND'HOMME)

Active from the end of the sixteenth century, Cranthomé, an engraver and publisher, worked first in Paris and/or Lyons and then in Heidelberg. According to LeBlanc,¹ there were three Jacques "Granthomes," but if so, their work, dates, and biographies seem hopelessly confused. Dated works engraved by Cranthomé range from 1588 to 1622 and often carry a "fecit et excu.". An anonymous engraving of *The Siege of Hagenau*, dated April 25, 1622, bears the legend "Imprimé à Haidelberg chez Jacques Grand'homme".²

His address appears on only one Ghisi print, on the next to last state of *The Three Fates* (no. 25), following that of Honervogt (see Honervogt).

Notes:

1. LeBlanc, II, p. 311.
2. Roger-Armand Weigert, *Inventaire du fonds français, graveurs du XVII^e siècle*, 7 vols. (Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale, 1939+), v, p. 25.

CLAUDIO (CLAUDE, CLAUDI, CLAUDIJ) DUCHETTI (DUCHET, DUCHETTI)

Duchetti, a nephew of Antonio Lafreri (see Lafreri),¹ was born in Orgelet, France. He probably went to Rome with Lafreri about 1544, and is known to have worked for him as a printer and print dealer. His name appears as publisher on a print by Martino Rota,² dated 1570. On Lafreri's death in 1577, Duchetti and Lafreri's grandnephew Stefano (Etienne) Duchetti became joint heirs; the legal division of the estate took nearly four years. Stefano seems to have sold most of the plates he inherited, but Claudio published his, had copies or new versions made of other Lafreri plates, and acquired plates from other publishers, as well as publishing new works. His activity, however, was short-lived; he died in Rome in 1586, naming Jacobi Gherardi³ his successor. After Gherardi's death most of the plates were acquired by Giovanni Orlandi (see Orlandi).

The only Ghisi print on which Duchetti's address appears is the third state of *Allegory of the Hunt* (no. 21), after Luca Penni, which was engraved in Paris in 1556. We do not know how Duchetti acquired the plate.

Notes:

1. "Romae Claudij Duchetti sequandi q. Antony Lafreri nepotis formis" on Cornelis Cort, Bierens de Haan, *Cornelis Cort*, no. 149iii.
2. "Claudi ducheti formis 1570" on Martino Rota, Bartsch XVI.258.24.
3. "Jac. Gherardi heredis Cl. Ducheti for. 1590" on Huelsen 115b.

PETRUS (PIETRO) FACCHETTUS (FACCHETTI)

Facchettus was born in Mantua in 1535 and worked as a painter, engraver, and publisher in Rome, where he died in 1619.¹ His address appears as the first publisher on seven Ghisi prints. Three engravings (nos. 44, 46, 49) after Michelangelo in the Prophets and Sibyls series (nos. 44–49) are dated 1549, but this date is too early to be that of Facchettus's edition and, on stylistic grounds, much too early for the date of the engravings. Although his address appears on only four, he undoubtedly published all six of the set. *The Last Judgment* (no. 9), after Michelangelo, is not dated, but Facchettus's edition has a memorial dedication to Michelangelo, and must therefore have been published after Michelangelo's death in 1564. The other two subjects are *Cupid and Psyche* (no. 50), dated 1574, and *The Rest on the Flight into Egypt* (no. 59), dated 1578.

Each of these seven plates had a previous, larger edition with no publisher's address. Facchettus's impressions are rare compared to the prior and subsequent editions. All Facchettus's plates passed to Nicolas van Aelst (see van Aelst).

Bartsch² lists two prints engraved by Facchettus, and Marani and Perina³ list a third, all of which were later published by van Aelst. We have seen another engraving signed by Facchettus, a portrait of Sixtus V.⁴

Notes:

1. Marani and Perina, *Mantova: Le arti*, III, p. 682.
2. Bartsch XVII, pp. 15–18.
3. Marani and Perina, *Mantova: Le arti*, III, p. 682.
4. *Old Master and Modern Prints*, auction cat. (London: Sotheby's, February 7, 1980), lot 57 (illustrated).

JOANNES (IOAN) GALLE

Son of Theodor and grandson of Philipp Galle, the founder of a well-known family of artists, engravers, print dealers, and publishers, Joannes Galle was born in Antwerp in 1600 and died there in 1676. His address appears on the final state of Ghisi's *Allegory of Life* (no. 28), succeeding that of Joannes Meysens (see Meysens). Hollstein records sixteen plates engraved by Galle, including four after Rubens's compositions.¹

Note:

1. Hollstein (Dutch and Flemish) VIII, p. 73.

JEAN II DE GOURMONT

A member of a family of French printmakers and print and book publishers and dealers, de Gourmont worked in Paris from 1571 to 1597 at the sign of L'Arbre Sec, rue St.-Jean Latran.¹ His is the first publisher's address to appear on Ghisi's *Allegory of Life* (no. 28). The plate then passed to Harman Adolffsz (see Adolffsz).

Note:

1. Philippe Renouard, *Répertoire des imprimeurs parisiens* (Paris: Minard, 1965), p. 180.

An engraver, print publisher, and dealer, Honervogt¹ was born in Cologne and arrived in Paris in 1608, working as an engraver for various publishers before establishing his own firm at the sign of La Ville de Cologne in the rue St. Jacques. He was sued by Rubens, who had been granted a privilege² for the engraving of his designs (see Royal Privilege), for pirating certain designs; in 1635, after an appeal to Parlement, the offending plates were seized and destroyed, and Honervogt was enjoined from engraving, having engraved, or selling prints that reproduced Rubens's works.

Honervogt's is the first publisher's address on *The Three Fates* (no. 25), *Allegory of Birth* (no. 26), and *The Calumny of Apelles* (no. 27), but his impressions show considerable wear. We do not know who had the plates between their original publication in Paris in 1559 or 1560 and their republication by Honervogt.

On Honervogt's death or retirement around 1663 he was succeeded at La Ville de Cologne by Gerard I Jollain (see Jollain).

Notes:

1. Weigert, *Inventaire du fonds français*, v, pp. 219–20.
2. Granted by the king in 1619 for a period of ten years and later renewed. See Horst Gerson and E. H. TerKuile, *Art and Architecture in Belgium 1600–1800* (Baltimore: Penguin, 1960), p. 85.

JOLLAIN (IOLLAIN)

A family of print publishers and dealers in Paris, the Jollains succeeded Jacques Honervogt at the sign of La Ville de Cologne in 1663 (see Honervogt). The Jollains acquired two Ghisi plates from their predecessor and published the late penultimate states of these, *Allegory of Birth* (no. 26) and *The Calumny of Apelles* (no. 27).

ANTONIO (ANT., ANTONI) LAFRERI (LAFRERII, LAFRERIJ) (A. L.)

An engraver, publisher, and dealer in prints and books, Lafreri was born in Orgelet, France, in 1512, moved to Rome about 1544, and died there in 1577.¹ His earliest dated prints were published in 1544. In 1553, he began a series of joint ventures with the older Roman publisher Antonio Salamanca that continued until the latter's death in 1562. Lafreri's was the most important and successful publishing firm in Italy in his lifetime. He was joined in Rome by, or brought with him, his nephew Claudio Duchetti (see Duchetti) and grandnephew Stefano Duchetti, who later shared the inheritance of his estate.

Lafreri published twenty-three of Ghisi's prints (see below). When his address appears on these prints, it is always the first or only publisher's address, and the impressions are nearly always well printed, much superior to those of succeeding publishers. He also published copies of eight Ghisi prints. In one case, *The Mystic Marriage of St. Catherine* (no. 17), after Primaticcio, he commissioned a copy of a plate he owned that had worn out. In 1572 he published an inventory catalogue, the first of its kind. It includes both prints by Ghisi and copies of his works, which could be acquired at Lafreri's shop.

Lafreri is best known for prints showing the architecture and sculpture of ancient Rome. He commissioned a title page, *Speculum Romanae Magnificentiae*, engraved by Etienne Dupérac around 1573, to enable the buyer to compile his own collection—presumably, but not invariably, from Lafreri's stock. Huelsen, in describing the contents of existing *Speculum* sets, lists two

prints by Giorgio.² However, the first, an unsigned view of the portico of the temple of Julius Caesar, given to Ghisi in Petri de Nobilibus's (see Nobilibus) 1584 inventory, is not by Ghisi. The second is *The Farnese Hercules* (no. 58), which replaced the Bossius version in early post-Lafreri compilations. No two *Speculum* sets are alike; one known copy contains over nine hundred prints issued by various publishers, many dating from the seventeenth century.³

Besides the *Speculum*, Lafreri published two title pages for collections of religious subjects. The only examples we have seen, at the Biblioteca Nacional in Madrid and at El Escorial, include Ghisi prints and copies.

Lafreri died unexpectedly without leaving a will, and it took nearly four years to settle his estate. It was not until 1581 that the final stage of assignment of ownership between his nephew Claudio Duchetti and grandnephew Stefano Duchetti took place.⁴ The records are incomplete, but it seems that Stefano sold the plates he inherited. Claudio retained his plates and became Lafreri's successor.

Ghisi's prints published by Lafreri are: *The Death of Procris* (no. 5), *Sinon Deceiving the Trojans* (no. 7), *The Fall of Troy and the Escape of Aeneas* (no. 8), *The Visitation* (no. 10), *The Vision of Ezekiel* (no. 15), *The Mystic Marriage of St. Catherine*, after Primaticcio (no. 17), *Venus and Vulcan Seated on a Bed* (no. 18), *Venus and Vulcan at the Forge* (no. 19), *Caius Marius in Prison* (no. 29), the two sets of prints after ceiling designs by Primaticcio (nos. 30–37), *Angelica and Medoro* (no. 43), *The Mystic Marriage of St. Catherine*, after Correggio (no. 51), *The Madonna of Loreto* (no. 52), *The Coronation of the Virgin* (no. 53), *The Virgin of Sorrows* (no. 54), and *The Man of Sorrows* (no. 55).

Notes:

1. Roland, "Antoine Lafrery," pp. 320–78.
2. Huelsen 8A, 55B.
3. Lowry, "Notes on the Speculum Romanae," p. 47.
4. Roland, "Antoine Lafrery," pp. 354ff.

CARLO LOSI

Carlo Losi acquired a group of plates by various earlier artists and published them in Rome between 1772 and 1774. He published the third state of *Venus and the Rose* (no. 22), on which no previous address had appeared, and the third and last state of *The Trinity* (no. 57), which had previously been published by Nicolas van Aelst (see van Aelst). Ghisi's *The Visitation* (no. 10) and Cornelis Cort's set of Saints in Landscapes after Muziano¹ were published in their penultimate states by Giovanni Battista Rossi (see G. B. Rossi) and in their final states by Losi.

Note:

1. Bierens de Haan, *Cornelis Cort*, nos. 113–19.

JOANNES (IOAN) MEYSENS (MEYSSENS)

Born in Brussels in 1612, Meysens moved to Antwerp in 1640 and died there in 1670. An artist, printmaker, and publisher, he is best known for publishing a late edition of van Dyck's *Iconographie*. His address is found on the fifth state of Ghisi's *Allegory of Life* (no. 28), succeeding that of Harman Adolffsz (see Adolffsz).

NICOLO (NICOLAI) NELLI (N. N.)

Nelli was a printmaker, publisher, and print dealer who worked in Venice "a l'arca de Noè," his dated prints ranging from 1563 to 1576. He had the distinction of publishing Giulio Campagnola's *St. John the Baptist*, but most of his activity involved copies. He published no Ghisi plates, but did publish copies of *The School of Athens* (no. 11) in 1572, *The Last Supper* (no. 12) in 1564, *The Dispute on the Holy Sacrament* (no. 13) in 1565, *Allegory of the Hunt* (no. 21) in 1563, *Venus and the Rose* (no. 22) in 1564, and *Apollo and the Muses* (no. 23) in 1563, all plates Ghisi made in Antwerp or France. All of these copies, with the possible exception of *The School of Athens*, which is unsigned, were engraved by Gaspar ab Avibus (Gaspar Osello).

PETRI (PIETRO) DE NOBILIBUS (DE NOBILI)

Nobilibus was active as a printer and publisher in Rome during the 1580s, sometimes in partnership with Paulo Gratiani. All the plates on which Nobilibus's address appears came from the Lafreri stock (see Lafreri), some from the group inherited by Stefano Duchetti in 1581.¹ Nobilibus's address appears on three Ghisi prints: the fourth state of *The Death of Procris* (no. 5), which subsequently passed to Ioan Antonij de Paulis (see de Paulis), and the last states of *The Mystic Marriage of St. Catherine*, after Correggio (no. 51), and *The Man of Sorrows* (no. 55).

Note:

1. Huelsen, p. 135.

GIOVANNI (JOANNIS, J.) ORLANDI

An engraver, publisher, and print dealer, Orlandi was active in Rome¹ in the via del Pasquino about 1590–1613 and then worked in Naples until 1628 or later.² A large number of the plates he published, including five by Ghisi, are dated 1602 with his address. Three of these, the two Trojan subjects (nos. 7, 8) and *The Madonna of Loreto* (no. 52), are in the last state and follow Antonio Lafreri's edition (see Lafreri). Orlandi is the first publisher to appear on *Apollo and the Muses* (no. 23), but his edition follows by nearly fifty years the time when the plate was originally engraved. Orlandi also published *The Farnese Hercules* (no. 58), but we are not certain whether his edition or Nicolas van Aelst's (see van Aelst) is earlier, since they were contemporaries.

Many of the plates originally published by Lafreri that passed to Claudio Duchetti (see Duchetti), and later to Gherardi, were acquired and published by Orlandi. Most of these were, in turn, acquired by the Rossi family publishing firm (see Giuseppe Rossi), and passed from them to the Calcografia.

Notes:

1. Huelsen 121: "Giovanni Orlandi formis in Roma a Pasquino."
2. Jonathan Brown, *Jusepe de Ribera: Prints and Drawings* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1973–74), p. 75, no. 14: "Giovanni Orlandi Romano. D.D." on the second state of Ribera's *Drunken Silenus*. The first state is dated 1628 and has no publisher's address.

FRANCESCO (FRAN) PALM (PALMIERO)

Palm published three of the six prints by Luca Giordano listed by Bartsch, and therefore was presumably working after 1658,¹

probably in Naples. His name appears on the last state of *The Rest on the Flight into Egypt* (no. 59), originally engraved in 1578 and published in the preceding state by Nicolas van Aelst (see van Aelst). The fact that Palm erased van Aelst's name but retained the "for. Romae" suggests that he was working in Rome when he published the plate.

Note:

1. "Lucas Jurdanus 1658" (the address added in the second state). Bartsch XXI.176.5.

IOAN ANTONIJ (GIOVANNI) DE PAULIS (DE PAOLI)

De Paulis worked as a publisher in Rome in the early seventeenth century. The only Ghisi print on which his address appears is the sixth state of *The Death of Procris* (no. 5), following Petri de Nobilibus's edition (see Nobilibus) and preceding that of Philipppus Thomassinus (see Thomassinus).

GIOVANNI BATTISTA (GIAMBATTISTA, G. B., IO. BAPT.) ROSSI (DE ROSSI, DE RUBEIS)

Born in Milan, Rossi was an engraver, printer, and print publisher in the Piazza Navona in Rome from about 1640.¹ He was active until about 1672 and was succeeded by his son Matteo Gregorio. He commissioned plates, particularly Roman views, and reprinted others he had acquired. The only Ghisi print on which his address appears is the fifth state of *The Visitation* (no. 10).

Note:

1. Leandro Ozzola, "Gli editori di stampe in Roma nei sec. XVI e XVII," *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft*, 33 (1910), p. 408, note 42, citing Ehrle.

GIOVANNI GIACOMO (GIO. GIA., IO. IAC.) ROSSI (DE ROSSI, DE RUBEIS)

Successor to Giuseppe Rossi (see Giuseppe Rossi), and perhaps his son, Giovanni Giacomo Rossi was active as printer, print publisher, and dealer in Rome "alla Pace" from 1638 to 1684.¹ He published many plates first issued by Antonio Lafreri (see Lafreri) and others, and his holdings subsequently became the foundation of the Papal Calcografia and later the Calcografia Nazionale.²

The Ghisi prints bearing his address are late and worn. Rossi's address did not appear on all the plates he owned, and it was not removed from plates on which it did appear, even on impressions printed in modern times. His inventory of 1677³ lists *The Mocking of the Prisoners* (no. 4), *The Death of Procris* (no. 5), *The Last Judgment* (no. 9), *The Vision of Ezekiel* (no. 15), *Venus and Vulcan Seated on a Bed* (no. 18), *Venus and Vulcan at the Forge* (no. 19), *Hercules Victorious Over the Hydra* (no. 24), *Caius Marius in Prison* (no. 29), the two sets of prints after Primaticcio's ceiling designs (nos. 30–37), *Angelica and Medoro* (no. 43), the series of Prophets and Sibyls (nos. 44–49), *Cupid and Psyche* (no. 50), and *The Farnese Hercules* (no. 58). Of these, the Rossi address appears only on *The Mocking of the Prisoners*, *The Death of Procris*, *The Last Judgment*, *The Vision of Ezekiel*, *Angelica and Medoro*, and, of the Prophets and Sibyls series, only on *The Eritrean Sibyl* and *The Prophet Ezekiel*. All but one of the Ghisi plates in the Calcografia Nazionale come from the Rossi family.

The exception is *Allegorical Figure Holding a Sphere* (no. 38).⁴

Notes:

1. Ozzola, "Gli editori di stampe," pp. 406–407.
2. Petrucci, *Catalogo generale delle stampe*, p. 3.
3. *Indice delle stampe . . . esistenti nella Stamperia di Gio. Giacomo de Rossi in Roma alla Pace* (Rome: Stamperia della Reverenda Camera Apostolica, 1677).
4. Petrucci, *Catalogo generale delle stampe*, p. 66.

GIUSEPPE (JOSEPHUS) ROSSI (DE ROSSI, DE RUBEIS) (JUNIORIS)

Born in Milan, Rossi lived in Rome from about 1603¹ and died there about 1638. He founded the Rossi family printing and print publishing dynasty in the via della Pace, "al'insegna di Parigi," which became the largest and most important publishing firm in Italy in the seventeenth century and which reissued many earlier plates and published new prints by contemporary artists working in Rome. Ozzola² records several prints on which Giuseppe Rossi's address appears between 1613 and 1636, and Huelsen³ cites two prints, dated 1613 and 1633.

Giuseppe Rossi's address appears on *Apollo and the Muses* (no. 23). The date "1602" following his address refers to the previous publisher, but was left when that publisher's name was erased (see Orlandi). Giuseppe was succeeded by Giovanni Giacomo Rossi (see G. G. Rossi), but this print is not in the latter's inventory of 1677, and the plate is not in the Calcografia Nazionale.

We do not know whether this family and the Giovanni Battista Rossi family, whose publishing house was in the Piazza Navona, were related, though both originated in Milan.

Notes:

1. Paolo Bellini, "Printmakers and Dealers in Italy During 16th and 17th Centuries," *Print Collector*, 13 (May–June 1975), p. 22 and p. 28, note 20.
2. Ozzola, "Gli editori di stampe," pp. 400–41.
3. Huelsen, p. 151, 80A, and p. 165, 118.

PHILIPPUS (PHILIPPE, P.) THOMASSINUS (THOMASSIN)

Goldsmith, engraver, printer, and publisher, Thomassinus was born in Troyes in 1562 and moved to Rome in 1585, where he died in 1622. In Rome he worked first as an engraver in the shop of Claudio Duchetti (see Duchetti). On the death of Duchetti's successor, Gherardi, Thomassinus and Jean Turpin managed the business until 1602, when it was closed.¹ The only Ghisi print Thomassinus published was the seventh state of *The Death of Procris* (no. 5), which he retouched extensively; the plate then passed to the Rossi family (see Giuseppe Rossi).

Note:

1. See Edmond Bruwaert, *La vie et les oeuvres de Philippe Thomassin, graveur troyen, 1562–1622* (Troyes: Novel & Paton, 1914).

The earliest privileges granted in France for printed works were for books that date from the first decade of the sixteenth century. These privileges served a purpose similar to the copyright of later times, protecting the book or certain elements of it from pirating, usually for a specific length of time. The grantor was the king, with Parlement (then a form of high court) petitioned for renewals. On the title page of the book would appear “Avec Privilege du Roy” or “Cum Privilegio Regis,” the latter to become the “C.P.R.” used in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. A separate text with details of the privilege, naming the recipient, the protected material, the duration, and the penalties, was often, but not always, bound in. The privilege was granted to approved works only;¹ the recipient, normally the publisher or author, made application through the court bureaucracy or by use of court connections.

One can see a broadening of coverage as the century progressed.² So far as we know, the first privileges for prints were granted in 1556 by Henry II, for two sets of prints. In both cases the statement of privilege appeared on the title page, the individual prints bearing no indication of it. The most important set was Jean Duvert’s *L’Apocalypse*, engraved between 1545 and 1555. The title page for the edition with text, published in 1561, has the privilege, dated 1556 “. . . pour douze ans,” on the verso. There were apparently suites of the plates printed before 1561; Robert-Dumesnil³ cites one, and we have seen other impressions obviously earlier than those in the 1561 edition. The other 1556 set is Pierre Woieriot’s *Pinax iconus antiquorum* . . . ,⁴ which has “Cum privilegio Regis/ P. Woieriot In” on the title. Although lacking a printed privilege text, it can be assumed that it was granted to the artist, whose self-portrait and dedication to the duke of Lorraine follow.

The first dated single prints on which the French royal privilege appears, in 1559, are works of Pierre Woieriot and Giorgio Ghisi. There is no publisher’s address; the privilege was granted to the artist. Woieriot’s privilege may have been granted earlier in the year than was Ghisi’s, for Woieriot would have had access to Henry II through his patron, Charles III, duke of Lorraine, who was Henry’s son-in-law.

The first of Ghisi’s prints to receive the French privilege was *The Three Fates* (no. 25), dated 1558 in its first state. With the addition of the privilege the date changed to 1559. The date of the *Allegory of Birth* (no. 26) also changed, from 1558 to 1560, with the addition of the privilege, and the third print on which the privilege appears, *The Calumny of Apelles* (no. 27), is dated 1560. These date changes suggest that Giorgio did not obtain the privilege until after the unexpected death of Henry



Fig. 86. The French royal privilege. Detail of no. 27, *The Calumny of Apelles*, state ii

II in July 1559. The new king was Francis II, whose reign lasted only until his death at the end of 1560, and whose mother was the Italian-born Catherine de Medici. It may be that the increase in her power and influence gave Giorgio the necessary *entrée*.

Notes:

1. See David Thomas Pottinger, *The French Book Trade in the Ancien Régime, 1500–1791* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1958), pp. 210ff.
2. In 1558 the Parisian printer and type cutter Robert Granjon was given a ten-year privilege protecting a new typeface he had designed. See Mortimer, *French 16th Century Books*, no. 261.
3. Robert-Dumesnil v, p. 25, note 1.
4. Robert-Dumesnil vii.53.1 and 86.193–204; Mortimer, *French 16th Century Books*, no. 555.

Concordance with Bartsch

BARTSCH NO.	CAT. NO.	BARTSCH NO.	CAT. NO.	BARTSCH NO.	CAT. NO.
1	10	32	R 3	63	1
2	60	33	R 4	64	27
3	14	34	38	65	6
4	59	35	18	66	R 8
5	52	36	34	67	28
6	12	37	35	68	4
7	61	38	36	69	15
8	56	39	37	70	20
9	62	40	22	71	39
10	63	41	58		
11	51	42	42		
12	17	43	21		
13	53	44	24		
14	57	45	50		
15	55	46	R 5		
16	54	47	25		
17	48	48	30		
18	44	49	31		
19	47	50	32		
20	49	51	33		
21	45	52	A 2		
22	46	53	R 6		
23	13	54	19		
24	11	55	3		
25	9	56	41		
26	29	57	26		
27	2	58	23		
28	7	59	R 7		
29	8	60	16		
30	R 1	61	5		
31	R 2	62	43		

Bibliography

- Ackerman, James S. *The Architecture of Michelangelo*. Baltimore: Penguin, 1971.
- Albricci, Gioconda. "Le incisioni di G. Battista Scultori (The Engravings of G. B. Scultori)," *Print Collector, Il conoscitore di stampe*, no. 33-34 (September-December 1976), pp. 10-63.
- . "Il 'Sogno di Raffaello' di Giorgio Ghisi," *Arte cristiana*, 71 (1983), pp. 215-22.
- . "Su un'incisione di G. Ghisi," *I quaderni del conoscitore di stampe*, no. 28 (September-October 1975), pp. 16-17.
- Aldrovandi, Ulysses. *Di tutte le statue antiche, che per tutta Roma*, published with L. Mauro, *Le antichità della città di Roma*. . . . Venice: Giordano Ziletti, 1556.
- Amerson, L. Price, Jr., ed. *The Fortuna of Michelangelo*, exhib. cat. Sacramento, Calif.: The E. B. Crocker Art Gallery, 1975.
- d'Arco, Carlo. *Delle arti e degli artefici di Mantova*, 2 vols. Mantua: Giovanni Aganzi, 1857.
- . *Di cinque valenti incisori mantovani del secolo XVI e delle stampe da loro operate*. Mantua: Ferdinando Elmucci, 1840.
- dell'Arco, Maurizio Fagiolo. *Il Parmigianino, un saggio sull'ermetismo nel cinquecento*. Rome: Mario Bulzone, 1970.
- Armand, Alfred. *Les médailleurs italiens des quinzième et seizième siècles*, 2 vols. 2nd ed. Paris: E. Plon, 1883.
- Bartsch, Adam. *Le peintre graveur*, 21 vols. New ed. Leipzig: J. A. Barth, 1854-76.
- Basilius Valentinus. *Azoth*. Paris: Ieremie et Christophle Perier, 1624.
- Baudrier, J. *Bibliographie Lyonnaise: Recherches sur les imprimeurs, libraires, relieurs, et fondeurs de lettres de Lyon, au XVI^e siècle*, 12 vols. Lyons: Louis Brun, 1895-1921.
- Béguin, Sylvie. *Mostra di Nicolo dell'Abate*, exhib. cat. Bologna: Palazzo dell'Archiginnasio, 1969.
- . "Un tableau de Luca Penni," *Revue du Louvre*, 5-6 (1975), pp. 359-66.
- Béguin, Sylvie, et al. *La Madone de Lorette*, exhib. cat. Chantilly: Musée Condé, 1979.
- Bellini, Paolo. "Incisioni di Giorgio Ghisi," *Rassegna di studi e di notizie*, 7 (1979), pp. 119-75.
- . "Printmakers and Dealers in Italy During 16th and 17th Centuries," *Print Collector*, no. 13 (May-June 1975), pp. 17-45; published in Italian as "Stampatori e mercanti di stampe in Italia nei secoli XVI e XVII," *I quaderni del conoscitore di stampe*, no. 26 (May-June 1975), pp. 19-34.
- Benoist, Luc. *Ville de Nantes, Musée des Beaux-Arts, catalogue et guide*. Nantes: Musée des Beaux-Arts, 1953.
- Bertani, Giovanni Battista. *Gli oscuri et difficili passi dell'opera ionica di Vitruvio*. Mantua: Venturino Ruffinello, 1558.
- Bertini, Aldo. *I disegni italiani della Biblioteca Reale di Torino*. Turin: Istituto Poligrafico dello Stato, Libreria dello Stato, 1958.
- Bertolotti, A. *Artisti francesi in Roma nei secoli XV, XVI e XVII, ricerche e studi negli archivi romani*. Mantua: G. Mondovi, 1886.
- Bettinelli, Saverio. *Delle lettere e delle arte mantovane*. Mantua: L'Erede di Alberto Pazzoni, 1774.
- Bierens de Haan, J. C. J. *L'Oeuvre gravé de Cornelis Cort, graveur hollandais 1533-1578*. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1948.
- Boehem, Wendelin. *Meister der Waffenschmiedekunst vom XIV. bis ins XVIII. Jahrhundert*. Berlin: W. Moeser, 1897.
- Bohlin, Diane DeGrazia. *Prints and Related Drawings by the Carracci Family*, exhib. cat. Washington: The National Gallery of Art, 1979.
- Borghini, Raffaello. *Il riposo*. Florence: Giorgio Marescotti, 1548.
- Briquet, C. M. *Les filigranes, dictionnaire historique des marques du papier dès leur apparition vers 1282 jusqu'en 1600*, 4 vols. Jubilee ed. Amsterdam: The Paper Publications Society, 1968.
- Brown, Jonathan. *Jusepe de Ribera: Prints and Drawings*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1973-74.
- Brunet, Jacques-Charles. *Manuel du libraire et de l'amateur de livres*, 8 vols. Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1860-80.
- Bruwaert, Edmond. *La vie et les oeuvres de Philippe Thomassin, graveur troyen, 1562-1622*. Troyes: Novel & Paton, 1914.
- Cammel, Charles Richard. "The Authentic Likeness of Michelangelo," *Connoisseur*, 104 (July-December 1939), pp. 119-25.
- Cast, David. *The Calumny of Apelles: A Study in the Humanist Tradition*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1981.
- Catalogo generale dei rami incisi al bulino e all'aqua forte posseduti dalla Regia Calcografia di Roma*. Rome: Forzani, 1889.
- Catalogue des livres rares et précieux composant la bibliothèque de M. E.-F.-D. Ruggieri*. Paris: Adolphe Labitte, 1873.
- Chambers, David, and Martineau, Jane, eds. *Splendours of the Gonzaga*, exhib. cat. London: Victoria and Albert Museum, 1981.
- Cheney, Iris. "Francesco Salviati (1510-1563)." Ph.D. dissertation, New York University, 1963. Ann Arbor, Mich.: University Microfilms, 1976.
- Colonna, Francesco. *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili*. Venice: Aldus, 1499.
- . *Hypnerotomachie, ou discours du songe de Poliphile*. Paris: Jacques Kerver, 1546.
- Costalius, Petrus. *Pegma, cum narrationibus philosophicis*. Lyons: Matthiam Bonhomme, 1555.
- Davidson, Bernice. "Drawings by Marcello Venusti," *Master Drawings*, 11 (1973), pp. 3-19.
- . *Mostra di disegni di Perino del Vaga e la sua cerchia*. Florence: Gabinetto Disegno e Stampe degli Uffizi, 1966.
- Delaborde, Henri. *Marc-Antoine Raimondi*. Paris: Libraire de l'Art, 1888.

- Delen, A. J. J. *Histoire de la gravure dans les anciens Pays-Bas et dans les provinces belges jusqu'à la fin du XVI^e siècle*, 2 vols. Paris: F. de Nobele, n.d. Reprint, New York: Da Capo Press, 1960.
- Denhaene, Godelieve. "Lambert Lombard et la peinture flamande de la Renaissance dans la littérature artistique," in *Relations artistiques entre les Pays-Bas et l'Italie à la Renaissance, études dédiées à Suzanne Sulzberger*. Brussels: Institut Historique Belge de Rome, 1980, pp. 101–21.
- Dessins de Lambert Lombard, ex-collection d'Arenberg*, exhib. cat. Liège: Musée de l'Art Wallon, 1963.
- Dimier, L. *Le Primatrice, peintre, sculpteur et architecte des rois de France*. Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1900.
- Disertori, Benvenuto. "Fra incisori antichi e stampe rare, Il Sogno di Raffaello ossia la vita del saggio," *Emporium*, 64 (1926), pp. 258–65.
- . *L'incisione italiana*. Florence: Barberà, 1931.
- Dollmayr, H. "Lo stanzino da bagno del cardinale Bibbiena," *Archivio storico dell'arte*, 3 (1890), p. 277.
- Dussler, Luitpold. *Raphael: A Critical Catalogue of His Pictures, Wall-Paintings, and Tapestries*. London: Phaidon, 1971.
- L'Ecole de Fontainebleau*, exhib. cat. Paris: Grand Palais, 1972.
- Ehrle, Francesco. *Roma prima di Sisto V, la pianta di Roma Du Pérac-Lafréry del 1577*. Rome: Danesi, 1908.
- Eisler, Colin. *The Master of the Unicorn: The Life and Work of Jean Duvet*. New York: Abaris, 1979.
- Fabricius, Johannes. *Alchemy: The Medieval Alchemists and Their Royal Art*. Copenhagen: Rosenkilde and Bagger, 1976.
- Faccio, Emilio. *Mantova: Le lettere*, 2 vols. Mantua: Istituto Carlo d'Arco per la storia di Mantova, 1962.
- Fenlon, Iain. *Music and Patronage in Sixteenth-Century Mantua*, vol. 1. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980.
- Firenze e la Toscana dei Medici nell'Europa del cinquecento: Il primato del disegno*, exhib. cat. Florence: Palazzo Strozzi, 1980.
- Fontainebleau, l'art en France 1528–1610 (Art in France 1528–1610)*, 2 vols. Exhib. cat. Ottawa: The National Gallery of Canada, 1973.
- Fredericksen, Burton. "New Information on Raphael's *Madonna di Loreto*," *The J. Paul Getty Museum Journal*, 3 (1976), pp. 5–45.
- Friedlaender, Walter. "La tintura delle rose (The Sacred and Profane Love) by Titian," *Art Bulletin*, 20 (1938), pp. 322–24.
- Frignani Negrisoni, Anna. "Indagine, archivistica e riflessioni su un collaboratore di Giulio Romano: Fermo Ghisoni," in *Studi su Giulio Romano*. San Benedetto Po: Accademia Polironiana, 1975, pp. 37–50.
- Gandolfo, Francesco. *Il "dolce tempo," mistica, ermetismo e sogno nel cinquecento*. Rome: Bulzoni, 1978.
- Gauthier, J. "Le Cardinal Granvelle et les artistes de son temps," *Mémoires de la Société d'Emulation du Doubs*, ser. 7, 6 (1901), pp. 305–51.
- Gelli, Jacopo. *Divise, motti, imprese, di famiglie e personaggi italiani*. Milan: Ulrico Hoepli, 1916.
- Gerson, Horst, and TerKuile, E. H. *Art and Architecture in Belgium 1600–1800*. Baltimore: Penguin, 1960.
- di Giampaolo, Mario. "Due disegni di Giulio Campi," *Antichità viva*, 16 (1977), pp. 35–37.
- Gionini-Visani, Maria. *Giorgio Clovio: Miniaturist of the Renaissance*. New York: Alpine Fine Arts, 1980.
- Golson, Lucile. "Lucca Penni, a Pupil of Raphael at the Court of Fontainebleau," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, ser. 6, 50 (July–August 1957), pp. 17–36.
- Gombrich, E. H. *Symbolic Images: Studies in the Art of the Renaissance*. London: Phaidon, 1972.
- Gori Gandellini, Giovanni. *Notizie istoriche degli intagliatori*, 1st ed. 1771. 2nd ed. Siena: Onorato Porri, 1808.
- Gould, Cecil. *The Paintings of Correggio*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1976.
- Grendler, Paul F. *Critics of the Italian World, 1530–1560: Anton Francesco Doni, Nicolò Franco, and Ottensio Lando*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1969.
- Hall, James. *Dictionary of Subjects and Symbols in Art*, rev. ed. New York: Harper & Row, 1979.
- Hartt, Frederick. *Giulio Romano*, 2 vols. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1958.
- Haskell, Francis, and Penny, Nicholas, comps. *The Most Beautiful Statues: The Taste for Antique Sculpture, 1500–1900*, exhib. cat. Oxford: Ashmolean Museum, 1981.
- Hayward, John Forrest. *Virtuoso Goldsmiths and the Triumph of Mannerism, 1540–1620*. London: Sotheby Parke Bernet, 1976.
- Heawood, Edward. *Watermarks, Mainly of the 17th and 18th Centuries*. Hilversum: The Paper Publications Society, 1950.
- Heineken, Karl Heinrich von. *Dictionnaire des artistes, dont nous avons des estampes, avec une notice détaillée de leurs ouvrages gravés*, 4 vols. Leipzig: Jean Gottlob Immanuel Breitkopf, 1778–90.
- . *Nachrichten von Künstlern und Kunst-Sachen*. Leipzig: Johann Paul Krauss, 1768.
- Helbig, Jules. *La peinture au pays de Liège et sur les bords de la Meuse*. Liège: Henri Poncelet, 1903.
- Heller, Joseph. *Handbuch für Kupferstichsammler oder Lexikon der Kupferstecher, Maler-Radierer und Formschneider*, 2 vols. 2nd ed. rev. by Andreas Andresen. Leipzig: T. O. Weigel, 1870–73.
- Herbet, Félix. "Les graveurs de l'école de Fontainebleau," *Annales de la Société Historique et Archéologique du Gatinais*. 1869–1902. Reprint, Amsterdam: B. M. Israel, 1969.
- Hind, Arthur M. *Early Italian Engraving*, 7 vols. London: Bernard Quaritch, 1938–48.
- Hirst, M. "Francesco Salviati's 'Visitation,'" *Burlington Magazine*, 103 (1961), pp. 236–40.
- Hollstein, F. W. H. *Dutch and Flemish Etchings, Engravings, and Woodcuts, ca. 1450–1700*, 28 vols. Amsterdam: Menno Hertzberger and later Van Gendt, 1948 +.
- . *German Engravings, Etchings, and Woodcuts, ca. 1400–1700*, 28 vols. Amsterdam: Menno Hertzberger and later Van Gendt, 1954 +.
- Howard, Seymour. "Pulling Herakles' Leg: Della Porta, Algardi, and Others," in *Festschrift Ulrich Middeldorf*. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1968, pp. 402–407.
- Huber, Michel. *Manuel des curieux et des amateurs de l'art*, 9 vols. Zurich: Orell, Fussli, Gessner, Fuesslin, 1797–1808.
- Huelsen, Christian. "Das Speculum Romanae Magnificentiae des Antonio Lafreri," in *Collectanea Variae Doctrinae Leoni S. Olschki*. Munich: Jacques Rosenthal, 1921, pp. 121–70.
- Hühn, Ellen. "Lambert Lombard als Zeichner." Ph.D. dissertation, Westfälische Wilhelms-Universität, 1970.
- Hymans, Henri, ed. and trans. *Le livre des peintres de Carel van Mander*. Paris: J. Rouain, 1884.

- Indice delle stampe . . . esistenti nella Stamperia di Gio. Giacomo de Rossi in Roma alla Pace. Rome: Stamperia della Reverenda Camera Apostolica, 1677.
- Jestaz, Bertrand, and Bacou, Roseline. *Jules Romain, l'histoire de Scipion, tapisseries et dessins*, exhib. cat. Paris: Grand Palais, 1978.
- Johnson, Deborah J. *Old Master Drawings from the Museum of Art, Rhode Island School of Design*. Providence: Rhode Island School of Design, 1983.
- Jung, C. G. *Mysterium coniunctionis: An Inquiry into the Separation and Synthesis of Psychic Opposites in Alchemy*, trans. R. F. C. Hull. New York: Pantheon, 1963.
- Karpinski, Caroline. "At the Sign of the Four Winds," *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin*, 18 (1959), pp. 8–17.
- Keller, Rolf. *Das Oratorium von San Giovanni Decollato in Rom: Eine Studie seiner Fresken*. Rome: Institut Suisse de Rome, 1976.
- Kristeller, Paul. "Giorgio Ghisi," in *Allgemeines Lexikon der bildenden Künstler von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart*, 37 vols. Vol. XIII, ed. Ulrich Thieme. Leipzig: E. A. Seemann, 1920.
- Laking, Sir Guy Francis. *A Record of European Arms and Armour Through Seven Centuries*, 5 vols. London: G. Bell and Sons, 1920–21.
- Lambert Lombard et son temps, exhib. cat. Liège: Musée de l'Art Wallon, 1966.
- Landau, David. *Catalogo completo dell'opera grafica di Georg Pencz*. Milan: Salamon e Agustoni, 1978.
- LeBlanc, Charles. *Manuel de l'amateur d'estampes*, 4 vols. Paris: Emile Bouillon, 1854–89.
- Lee, Rensselaer W. *Names on Trees: Ariosto into Art*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1976.
- van Lennep, J. *Art et alchimie: Etude de l'iconographie hermétique et ses influences*. Brussels: Editions Meddens, 1966.
- Levi, Alda. "Rilievi di sarcofagi del Palazzo Ducale di Mantova," *Dedalo*, 7 (1926–27), pp. 218–28.
- Lowry, Bates. "Notes on the Speculum Romanae Magnificentiae and Related Publications," *Art Bulletin*, 34 (March 1952), pp. 46–50.
- Luzio, Alessandro. *La galleria dei Gonzaga venduta all'Inghilterra nel 1627–28*. Milan: L. F. Cogliati, 1913.
- McGowan, Margaret M., ed. *L'Entrée de Henri II à Rouen 1550*. Amsterdam: Theatrum Orbis Terrarum. Reprint, New York: Johnson, 1970.
- MacPhail, Ian, et al. *Alchemy and the Occult: A Catalogue of Books and Manuscripts from the Collection of Paul and Mary Mellon Given to Yale University Library*, 2 vols. New Haven: Yale University Library, 1968.
- de Maio, Romeo. *Michelangelo e la controriforma*. Rome: Laterza, 1978.
- Malaspina di Sannazaro, Luigi. *Catalogo di una raccolta di stampe antiche*, 5 vols. Milan: Gio. Bernardoni, 1824.
- Mâle, Emile. *L'Art religieux après le Concile de Trente*. Paris: Armand Colin, 1932.
- van Mander, Carel. *Dutch and Flemish Painters: Translation from the Schilder-Boeck*, trans. Constant Van de Wall. New York: McFarlane, Warde, McFarlane, 1936.
- . *Het Schilder-Boeck*. Haarlem: Paschier van Westbusch, 1604.
- Mann, James G. "The Lost Armoury of the Gonzagas," 2 pts. *The Archaeological Journal*, 95 (1938), pp. 239–336; 100 (1943), pp. 16–127.
- Marabottini, Alessandro. *Polidoro da Caravaggio*, 2 vols. Rome: Edizione dell'Elefante, 1969.
- Marani, Ercolano, and Perina, Chiara. *Mantova: Le arti*, 3 vols. Mantua: Istituto Carlo d'Arco per la storia di Mantova, 1961–65.
- Mariette, P.-J. *Abécédario*, 6 vols. Paris: J.-B. Dumoulin, 1851–60.
- Mariette, [Pierre-Jean]. "Catalogue de l'oeuvre gravé des Ghisi," ed. Jean Adhémar, *Nouvelles de l'estampe*, no. 9 (1968), pp. 367–85.
- Massari, Stefania. *Incisori mantovani del '500, Giovan Battista, Adamo, Diana Scultori e Giorgio Ghisi dalle collezioni del Gabinetto Nazionale delle Stampe e della Calcografia Nazionale*, exhib. cat. Rome: Istituto Nazionale per la Grafica, 1980.
- Mauquoy-Hendrickx, Marie. *Les estampes des Wierix, conservées au Cabinet des Estampes de la Bibliothèque Royale Albert I^{er}*, 3 vols. Brussels: Bibliothèque Royale Albert I^{er}, 1978–83.
- . "A propos de la 'Lucrece' et du 'Jugement dernier' de Jean Wierix," *Le livre et l'estampe*, 19 (1973), pp. 52–59.
- Mazzoldi, Leonardo, et al. *Mantova: La storia*, 3 vols. Mantua: Istituto Carlo d'Arco per la storia di Mantova, 1958–63.
- Métral, Denyse. *Blaise de Vigenère, archéologue et critique d'art (1523–1596)*. Paris: E. Droz, 1939.
- Meyer, Julius. *Allgemeines Künstler-Lexikon*, 3 vols. Leipzig: Engelmann, 1872–85.
- Milstein, Ann Rebecca. *The Paintings of Girolamo Mazzola Bedoli*. New York: Garland, 1978.
- de Mirimonde, A. P. "Les concerts des muses chez les maîtres du nord," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, ser. 6, 63 (1964), pp. 129–58.
- . "A propos du 'Duel musical des muses et des Piérides' attribué au Rosso," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, ser. 6, 80 (1973), pp. 141–50.
- Mortimer, Ruth. *Harvard College Library Department of Printing and Graphic Arts, Catalogue of Books and Manuscripts, Part I: French 16th Century Books*, 2 vols. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, Belknap Press, 1964.
- . *Harvard College Library Department of Printing and Graphic Arts, Catalogue of Books and Manuscripts, Part II: Italian 16th Century Books*, 2 vols. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, Belknap Press, 1974.
- Nagler, G. K. *Die Monogrammisten*, 5 vols. Nieuwkoop: B. de Graaf, 1966.
- . *Neues allgemeines Künstler-Lexikon*, 22 vols. Munich: E. A. Fleischmann, 1835–52.
- Oberhuber, Konrad. "Hieronymus Cock, Battista Pittoni und Paolo Veronese in Villa Maser," in *Munuscula Discipulorum, Kunsthistorische Studien Hans Kauffmann zum 70. Geburtstag*, 1966. Berlin: B. Hessling, 1968, pp. 207–24.
- . *Die Kunst der Graphik III: Renaissance in Italien 16. Jahrhundert*, exhib. cat. 1st ed. Vienna: Graphische Sammlung Albertina, 1966. Reprint, New York: Arno/Worldwide, 1968.
- Old Master and Modern Prints*, auction cat. London: Sotheby's, February 7, 1980.
- Ozzola, Leandro. "Gli editori di stampe in Roma nei sec. XVI e XVII," *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft*, 33 (1910), pp. 400–11.
- Passavant, J. D. *Le peintre-graveur*, 6 vols. Leipzig: Rudolph Weigel, 1860–64.

- Passerini, Luigi. *Bibliografia di Michelangelo Buonarroti e gli incisori delle sue opere*. Florence: Cellini, 1875.
- Pastor, Ludwig. *The History of the Popes from the Close of the Middle Ages*, vols. XII–XVI. 3rd ed. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1950–51.
- Pellati, Francesco. "Giovanni Battista Bertani, architetto, pittore, commentatore di Vitruvio," in *Scritti di storia dell'arte in onore di Mario Salmi*, vol. III. Rome: De Luca, 1963, pp. 31–38.
- Pericoli Ridolfini, Cecilia. *Le case romane con facciate graffiti e dipinte*, exhib. cat. Rome: Palazzo Braschi, 1960.
- Perina, Chiara Tellini. "'Bertanus invenit': Considerazioni su alcuni aspetti della cultura figurativa del cinquecento a Mantova," *Antichità viva*, 13 (1974), pp. 17–29.
- . "Per il catalogo di Teodoro Ghisi," *Arte lombarda*, n.s., no. 58–59 (1981), pp. 47–51.
- . "Teodoro Ghisi: L'immagine fra maniera e controriforma," in Dario A. Franchini et al., *La scienza a corte*, Rome: Bulzoni, 1979.
- Petrucchi, Alfredo. *Panorama della incisione italiana, il cinquecento*. Rome: Carlo Bestetti, 1964.
- Petrucchi, Carlo Alberto. *Catalogo generale delle stampe tratte dai rami incisi posseduti dalla Calcografia Nazionale*. Rome: Libreria dello Stato, 1953.
- Piccard, Gerhard. *Die Wasserzeichenkartei Piccard im Hauptstaatsarchiv Stuttgart*, 10 vols. Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1961 + .
- Pigler, A. *Barockthemen*, 3 vols. 2nd rev. ed. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1974.
- Pittaluga, Mary. *L'incisione italiana nel cinquecento*. Milan: Ulrico Hoepli, 1928.
- Pittoni, Battista. *Imprese di diversi principi, duchi, signori, e d'altri personaggi, et huomini illustri*. Venice: Giovanni Rossi, 1566.
- Plon, Eugène. *Les maîtres italiens au service de la maison d'Autriche, Leone Leoni et Pompeo Leoni*. Paris: E. Plon, 1887.
- Popham, A. E., and Wilde, Johannes. *The Italian Drawings of the XV and XVI Centuries in the Collection of His Majesty the King at Windsor Castle*. London: Phaidon, 1949.
- Pottinger, David Thomas. *The French Book Trade in the Ancien Régime, 1500–1791*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1958.
- Pouncey, Philip, and Gere, J. A. *Italian Drawings in the Department of Prints and Drawings in the British Museum: Raphael and His Circle*. London: The British Museum, 1962.
- Pulszky, Carl von. *Chefs-d'oeuvre d'orfèvrerie ayant figuré à l'exposition de Budapest*, 2 vols. Paris: A. Lévy, 1888.
- de Ramaix, Isabelle. "Paul de la Houve," 2 pts. *Le livre et l'estampe*, 26 (1980), pp. 7–69; 27 (1981), pp. 219–30.
- Ravelli, Lanfranco. *Polidoro Caldara da Caravaggio*. Milan: Edizioni "Monumenta Bergomensia," 1978.
- Read, Charles Hercules. *The Waddesdon Bequest: Catalogue of the Works of Art Bequeathed to the British Museum by Baron Ferdinand Rothschild, M.P.* London: Chiswick Press, 1902.
- Réau, Louis. *Iconographie de l'art chrétien*, 3 vols. in 6. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1955–59.
- Renouard, Philippe. *Répertoire des imprimeurs parisiens*. Paris: Minard, 1965.
- Riggs, Timothy A. *Hieronymus Cock, Printmaker and Publisher*. New York: Garland, 1977.
- Robert-Dumesnil, A. P. F. *Le peintre-graveur français*, 11 vols. Paris: 1835–71. Reprint, Paris: F. de Nobele, 1967.
- Robert-Dumesnil Sale VII, auction cat. London: Phillips Auction House, May 14–18, 1838.
- Roland, F. "Un franc-comtois éditeur et marchand d'estampes à Rome au XVI^e siècle, Antoine Lafrery (1512–1577)," *Mémoires de la Société d'Emulation du Doubs*, ser. 7, 5 (1911), pp. 320–78.
- Rombouts, Ph., and Lerijs, Th. van. *De liggeren en andere historische archieven der Antwerpsche sint Lucasgilde*, 2 vols. Antwerp: Feliciaen Baggerman, 1872.
- Rose, H. J. *A Handbook of Greek Mythology, Including Its Extension to Rome*. New York: E. P. Dutton, 1959.
- Rotili, Mario, et al. *Fortuna di Michelangelo nell'incisione*, exhib. cat. Benevento: Museo del Sannio, 1964.
- Roy, Maurice. "Les trois frères Penni et Francesco di Pellegrino," in *Artistes et monuments de la Renaissance en France*. Paris: Honoré Champion, 1934, pp. 436–43.
- Ruscelli, Girolamo. *Le imprese illustri con espositioni e discorsi*. Venice: Francesco Rampazetto, 1566.
- Salvini, Roberto, et al. *The Sistine Chapel*, 2 vols. New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1965.
- Schiller, Gertrud. *Iconography of Christian Art*, trans. Janet Seligman. 2 vols. London: Lund, Humphries, 1972.
- Le seizième siècle européen: Dessins du Louvre*, exhib. cat. Paris: Musée du Louvre, 1965.
- Sheard, Wendy Steadman. *Antiquity in the Renaissance*, exhib. cat. Northampton, Mass.: Smith College Museum of Art, 1978.
- Shoemaker, Innis H., and Broun, Elizabeth. *The Engravings of Marcantonio Raimondi*, exhib. cat. Lawrence, Kans.: Spencer Museum of Art, 1981.
- Sopher, Marcus S., with Lazzaro-Bruno, Claudia. *Sixteenth-Century Italian Prints*, exhib. cat. Claremont, Calif.: Montgomery Art Gallery, 1978.
- Standen, Edith A. "The Sujet de la Fable Gobelins Tapestries," *Art Bulletin*, 46 (1964), pp. 143–57.
- . "The Tapestries of Diane de Poitiers," in *Actes du colloque international sur l'art de Fontainebleau*. Paris: Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1975, pp. 87–98.
- Steinberg, Leo. "Michelangelo's 'Last Judgment' as Merciful Heresy," *Art in America*, 63 (November–December 1975), pp. 49–63.
- Steinmann, Ernst. *Die Portraitdarstellungen des Michelangelo*. Leipzig: Klinkhardt & Biermann, 1913.
- . *Die Sixtinische Kapelle*, 2 vols. Munich: F. Bruckmann, 1901–1905.
- Strauss, Walter L., ed. *Hendrik Goltzius, 1558–1617: The Complete Engravings and Woodcuts*, 2 vols. New York: Abaris, 1977.
- de Tervarent, Guy. *Attributs et symboles dans l'art profane 1450–1600, dictionnaire d'un langage perdu*, 2 vols. in 1. Geneva: E. Droz, 1958–59.
- Thieme, Ulrich, and Becker, Felix, eds. *Allgemeines Lexikon der bildenden Künstler von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart*, 37 vols. Leipzig: Wilhelm Engelmann and later E. A. Seemann, 1909–50.
- Vanais, Paul. "Nouvelles précisions concernant la biographie et l'oeuvre de Luca Penni," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, ser. 6, 67 (February 1966), pp. 79–89.

- Vasari, Giorgio. *Lives of the Most Eminent Painters, Sculptors, and Architects*, trans. Gaston Du C. de Vere. 3 vols. 1st ed. 1912. New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1979.
- . *Le vite de' più eccellenti pittori, scultori ed architettori*, ed. Gaetano Milanesi. 9 vols. Florence: G. C. Sansoni, 1906.
- Verdier, Philippe, with Focarino, Joseph. "Limoges Painted Enamels," in *The Frick Collection: An Illustrated Catalogue*, vol. viii. New York: The Frick Collection, 1977.
- Verheyen, Egon. "Die Malereien in der Sala di Psiche des Palazzo del Te," *Jahrbuch der Berliner Museen*, 14 (1972), pp. 33–68.
- . *The Palazzo del Te in Mantua: Images of Love and Politics*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1977.
- Vinet, Ernest. *Bibliographie méthodique et raisonnée des beaux-arts*, 2 pts. Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1874–77.
- Walch, Nicole. *Die Radierungen des Jacques Bellange, Chronologie und kritischer Katalog*. Munich: Robert Wölfle, 1971.
- Waller, F. G. *Biographische Woordenboek van Noord Nederlandsche Graveurs*. 1938. Reprint, Amsterdam: B. M. Israel, 1974.
- Warner, Marina. *Alone of All Her Sex: The Myth and Cult of the Virgin Mary*. New York: Random House, 1983.
- Weigel, Rudolph. *Kunstlager-Catalog*, 35 vols. in 5. Leipzig: Rudolph Weigel, 1838–57.
- Weigert, Roger-Armand. *Inventaire du fonds français, graveurs du XVII^e siècle*, 7 vols. Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale, 1939+.
- Worthen, Amy N., and Reed, Sue Welsh. *The Etchings of Jacques Bellange*, exhib. cat. Des Moines, Iowa: Des Moines Art Center, 1975.
- Zanetti, Alexandre. *Le premier siècle de la calcographie, ou catalogue raisonné des estampes du cabinet de feu M. le Comte Léopold Cicognara*. Venice: Joseph Antonelli, 1837.
- Zani, Pietro. *Enciclopedia metodico critico-ragionato delle belle arti*, 2 pts. Parma: Tipografia Ducale, 1817–24.
- Zerner, Henri. "Ghisi et la gravure maniériste à Mantoue," *L'Oeil*, no. 88 (April 1962), pp. 26–32, 76.
- . *The School of Fontainebleau: Etchings and Engravings*. New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1969.
- Zonghi, Aurelio. *Zonghi's Watermarks (Aurelio & Augusto Zonghi, A. F. Gasparinetti)*. Hilversum: The Paper Publications Society, 1953.

Index

The numbers in boldface appearing under the titles of Ghisi's prints indicate the catalogue entry for the work. The numbers in boldface under the names of the publishers of Ghisi's prints refer to the biography in the appendix Ghisi's Publishers. Since all of the prints by Ghisi put forth by each publisher are listed in the biographies, the pages of the catalogue entries for these works are not repeated here under the publishers' names; the other pages indexed for Ghisi's publishers direct the reader to further information about them.

Abate, Nicolo dell', 100, 111, 112
 Abry, Louis, 65, 67n15
Acrisius, Danaë and the Infant Perseus Cast Out to Sea by (after Giulio Romano), 24, **47-48**
 Adolffsz, Harman, **229**, 230, 231
Adonis, The Death of (after Giulio Romano), 45-46
Adonis, Venus and (after Teodoro Ghisi), 25, 29n23, **146-48**
Adonis Carrying Venus. See *Allegory of the Hunt*
 Adoration of the Magi, 175
 Adoration of the Shepherds, 175
The Adoration of the Shepherds, **195-97**, 199
The Adoration of the Shepherds with St. Benedict (by Bedoli and Ghisoni), 195
 Aelst, Nicolas van, **229**, 230, 231, 232
Aeneas, The Fall of Troy and the Escape of (after G. B. Scultori), **51-52**
Aeneid (Virgil), 50, 116
 AF, 150
 Agony in the Garden, 181
 Alberti, Cherubino, 165
 Alberti, Leon Battista, 104
 Alciati, Andrea, 89
 Aldrovandi, Ulysses, 189, 191n2, 191n4
Allegorical Figure Holding a Sphere (after Giulio Romano?), **136-38**
Allegory of Birth (after Giulio Romano), 27, 28, 106, **107-109**, 234
Allegory of Life, 19, 23, 24, 27, **114-20**
Allegory of Sickness (after Giulio Romano), **34-36**, 108

Allegory of the Hunt (after Luca Penni), **91-94**, 112
 Andreasio, Gabriello, 228
Angelica and Medoro (after Teodoro Ghisi), 22, **149-50**
 Angelico, Fra, 67n18
 Annunciation, 175
Antiope, Jupiter and (after Primaticcio), **206**
Apelles, The Calumny of (after Luca Penni), 24-25, 27, 106, 109, **110-13**, 118, 234
L'Apocalypse (by Duvet), 234
Apollo and the Muses (after Luca Penni), 27, **99-101**
Apollo, Neptune, Pluto, and Athena (after Primaticcio), **126-27**
Apollo, Pan, and a Putto Blowing a Horn (after Primaticcio), 22, **134-35**
 Apostolic Palace. See Vatican
 Appian, 43
 Apuleius, 167
 Ariosto, Lodovico, 150
 Ascension of Christ, 175
 Assumption of the Virgin, 175
Athena, Apollo, Neptune, Pluto, and (after Primaticcio), **126-27**
 Avibus, Gaspar ab, 64, 69, 91, 95, 100, 232
 Azoth (Valentinus), 119, 120n13

Bacchus, Pan, and Another God, Hercules, (after Primaticcio), **123**
Bacchus, The Triumph of (after Perino del Vaga), 211
Barbara, The Martyrdom of St., 197, **202-203**
 Barbaro, Daniele, 104
 Barlacchi, Tommaso, 26
 Basilica of St. Barbara. See Mantua
A Battle Between Greeks and Amazons (drawing attributed to Ghisi), 29n25
 Beatrizet, Nicolas, 55, 191
 Bedoli, Girolamo Mazzola, 195, 197
 Bellange, Jacques, 93
Benedict, The Adoration of the Shepherds with St. (by Bedoli and Ghisoni), 195
 Berghes, Robert de, 67n17
 Bertani, Giovanni Battista, 15, 16, 18, 20, 25, 27, 28, 29n1, 197, 201, 203

Hercules Victorious Over the Hydra, 102-104
The Judgment of Paris, 17, 27, 28, 78-81
The Vision of Ezekiel, 18, 75-77
 Bettinelli, Saverio, 143n1
 Bibbiena, Cardinal, 95
Birth of Memnon. See *Allegory of Birth*
 Blanco, Cristoforo, **229**
 Bonasone, Giulio, 57
 Borghini, Raffaello, 74
 Bos, Jacob, 190
 Boschetti, Isabella, 167
 Botticelli, Sandro, 111
 Bouts, Dirk, 177n4
 Boyvin, René, 91, 93n3
 Brambilla, Ambrogio, 57
 Bronzino, Agnolo, 17, 25
The Crossing of the Red Sea, 73, 74
The Nativity, 24, 71-74
 Brueghel, Pieter, 63n3
 Brusasorci, Domenico, 203
 Buonaccorsi, Piero. See Perino del Vaga
The Burning of Troy (after G. B. Scultori), 52
 Cagnani, Eugenio, 143n1
Caius Marius in Prison (after Caldara), **121-22**, 135
 Caldara, Polidoro, da Caravaggio, 121-22
 Caliarì, Carlo, 150
The Calumny of Apelles (after Luca Penni), 24-25, 27, 106, 109, **110-13**, 118, 234
Calydonian Boar, The Hunt of the (after Giulio Romano), 45-46
 Campagnola, Giulio, 232
 Campi, Giulio, 25
The Rest on the Flight into Egypt, 20, 192-94
 Caraglio, Jacopo, 85, 87
 Caravaggio. See Caldara, Polidoro, da Caravaggio
 Caron, Antoine, 111, 112, 113n4
 Carpentier, Jacques, **229**
 Carpi, Girolamo da, 30n25
 Carracci, Agostino, 193
 Cartaro, Mario, 57, 189
Carthaginians, The Storming of the Camp of the, 43n2
 Casa, Niccolo della, 55, 56
 Castiglione, G. B., 57n1

Castiglione, *The Genius of*, 57n1
 Catherine de Medici, 19, 234
Catherine, The Mystic Marriage of St.
 (after Correggio), 24, **169-70**
Catherine, The Mystic Marriage of St.
 (after Primaticcio), 24, **82-83**, 127
 Cavalieri, Giovanni Battista de, 57, 71
 Cenci, Giacomo, 53
 Cenci, Vincenzo, **229**
A Cemetery. See *The Vision of Ezekiel*
 Cesariano, Cesare di Lorenzo, 104
 Charles I of England, 56
 Charles V of the Holy Roman Empire,
 27, 64
 Charles IX of France, 19, 209
 Charles of Bourbon, 189-90
 Charles III, duke of Lorraine, 234
 Christ Bearing the Cross, 179
Christ Consecrating the Bread and Wine (by
 Rubens), 67n18
 Christ Disputing with the Doctors, 175,
 179
 Christ Nailed to the Cross, 181
 Christ Stripped of His Garments, 181
Christ Washing the Feet of the Apostles
 (after Lombard), 65-67
 Church of St. Paul. See Liège
 Church of San Andrea. See Mantua
 Circumcision, 181
 Cistolfi, Aurelio, 228
The Clemency of Scipio (by Fantuzzi),
 43n2
 Clement VII, Pope, 15
 Clovio, Giulio, 177n3
 Cock, Hieronymus, 17, 18, 19, 26, 27,
 56, 122, **229-30**
 Coeck van Aelst, Pieter, 65
 Collaert, Hans, 66
 Colonna, Francesco, 95, 120n18, 167
The Conference of Scipio and Hannibal,
 43n2
 Confraternity of the Misericordia, 60
 Confraternity of the Virgin of Sorrows,
 179
 Conte, Jacopino del, 139
The Coronation of the Virgin, **175-77**
 Correggio, 25, 57n8
The Mystic Marriage of St. Catherine,
 24, 169-70
 Cort, Cornelis, 106, 231
 Costaluis, Petrus, 98n9, 113n4
 Council of Trent, 56, 66, 103
 Cranthome, Jacques, **230**
The Crossing of the Red Sea (by Bronzino),
 73, 74
 Crowning with Thorns, 181
 Crucifixion, 179, 181
The Crucifixion (by Ghisoni), 184, 195
The Crucifixion with Mourning Angels,
182-84

*The Crucifixion with the Virgin, the Mag-
 dalen, and St. John*, **198-99**
 Cungi, Leonardo, 165
Cupid and Psyche (after Giulio Romano),
 20, 23, 24, **166-68**
Cupid and Psyche, The Feast for (after
 Giulio Romano), 168
*Danaë and the Infant Perseus Cast Out to
 Sea by Acrisius* (after Giulio
 Romano), 24, **47-48**
 Datus, Philippus, 116, 117, 118
 Davent, Léon, 91, 100, 101n5
The Death of Adonis (after Giulio
 Romano), 45-46
The Death of Procris (after Giulio
 Romano), 16, **44-46**
 Delaune, Etienne, 91, 93n3, 100
The Delphic Sibyl (after Michelangelo),
162-63
 Dente, Marco, 95
 Descent from the Cross, 179
Diana and Endymion. See *Allegory of the
 Hunt*
Diana and Orion. See *Allegory of the Hunt*
The Dispute on the Holy Sacrament (after
 Raphael), 17, **68-70**
 Don, Ascanio, 57
 Donati, Marcello, 227, 228
Dream of Raphael. See *Allegory of Life*
 Duaren, François, 18, 28
Duaren, François, Portrait of, 25, **88-90**
 Duchetti, Claudio, 57, **230**, 231, 232,
 233
 Duchetti, Stefano, 230, 231, 232
 Dupérac, Etienne, 57, 231
 Dürer, Albrecht, 104
Trinity, 187
 Duvet, Jean, 234
 Dyck, Anthony van, 231

Egypt, The Rest on the Flight into (after
 Giulio Campi), 20, 191, **192-94**
Emblem of Lucrezia Gonzaga, 28, **142-43**
Endymion, Diana and. See *Allegory of the
 Hunt*
 Entombment, 179
*Entry of Henry III into Mantua, Plates
 Commemorating the*, **207-10**
 Epiphany, 175
The Eritrean Sibyl (after Michelangelo),
154-55
Ezekiel, The Prophet (after Michelangelo),
156-57
Ezekiel, The Vision of (after Bertani), 18,
75-77

Facchettus, Petrus, 229, **230**
 Faccio, Emilio, 143n1
The Fall of Troy and the Escape of Aeneas
 (after G. B. Scultori), **51-52**
 Fantuzzi, Antonio, 36, 42, 43n2, 43n4,
 101n5, 206, 212
 Farnese, Cardinal Alessandro, 15, 56, 57
The Farnese Hercules, 15, **188-91**
Fasti (Ovid), 38n1
Fates, The Three (after Giulio Romano),
 27, **105-106**, 109, 234
The Feast for Cupid and Psyche (after
 Giulio Romano), 168
 Ferdinand, 206
 Ferrara, duke of, 143n1
 Ferrara, marchesa of, 227
 Ferri, Pietro Leopoldo, 143n1
 Filandro, Guglielmo, 104
 Firens, Pierre I, 212
 Flagellation, 181
 Flight into Egypt, 179
Flight into Egypt, The Rest on the (after
 Giulio Campi), 20, 191, **192-94**
The Flood (by Vellert), 118
 Floris, Frans, 63n3
 Fontanella, Alessandro, 228
Fortune. See *Allegorical Figure Holding a
 Sphere*
 Francis I of France, 42
 Francis II of France, 19, 234
 Franco, Battista, 168n2
 Franco, Giacomo, 142
 Furck (Fulcaro), Sebastian, 57
 Galle, Joannes, **230**
 Galle, Philipp, 230
 Galle, Theodor, 230
 Gassel, Lucas, 119
 Gaultier, Leonard, 57
The Genius of Castiglione, 57n1
 Gherardi, Jacobi, 230, 232, 233
 Ghisi, Lodovico, 16
 Ghisi, Teodoro, 16, 19, 20, 25, 175, 177,
 187, 197, 199
Angelica and Medoro, 149-50
Symbolum Apostolorum, 177
Venus and Adonis, 29n23, 146-48
 Ghisoni, Fermo, 195, 197
The Crucifixion, 184
 Giocondo, Fra, 104
 Giolito, Giovanni, 89
 Giordano, Luca, 232
 Giovanni da Udine, 122
 Giulio Romano, 16, 18, 25, 27, 50, 76,
 77, 81, 83, 95, 104, 137, 138
Allegory of Birth, 107-09
Allegory of Sickness, 34-36
Cupid and Psyche, 20, 166-68

- Danaë and the Infant Perseus Cast Out to Sea by Acrisius*, 47–48
The Death of Procris, 44–46
The Feast for Cupid and Psyche, 168
Hercules Resting from His Labors, 19, 144–45
The Mocking of the Prisoners, 41–43
The Prison, 212
Roman Soldiers Before an Emperor (?), 205
Silenus, a Satyr, and a Goat, 39–40
Tarquin and Lucretia, 37–38
The Three Fates, 105–106
Glockendon, Nikolaus, 177n3
Glycon, 189, 191
A Goddess on a Chariot (after Primaticcio?), **211**
Goltzius, Hendrik, 67n11, 112, 113, 190, 229
Gonzaga, Emblem of Lucrezia, 28, **142–43**
Gonzaga as Diana, Ippolita (by Leone Leoni), 119
Gonzaga, Cardinal Ercole, 56, 77n3, 103, 117
Gonzaga, Duke Federigo, 16, 103, 117, 167
Gonzaga, Ferrante, 117, 118
Gonzaga, Duke Francesco, 103, 143n1
Gonzaga, Duke Guglielmo, 20, 103, 184, 185, 187, 195, 210, 227, 228
Gonzaga, Ippolita, 118
Gonzaga, Lucrezia, 142–43
Gonzaga, Pirro, 142
Gonzaga, Prince Vincenzo, 22, 227, 228
Gourmont, Jean II de, 229, **230**
Granjon, Robert, 234n2
Granvelle, Cardinal. See Perenoto, Antonio
Gratiani, Paulo, **232**
Gregory XIII, Pope, 195
Guidiccioni, Lelio, 170
Guild of St. Luke, 17
- Hannibal, The Conference of Scipio and*, 43n2
Heemskerck, Martin van, 122
Henry II of France, 19, 100, 234
Henry III of France, 20, 207, 209, 210
Henry III into Mantua, Plates Commemorating the Entry of, **207–10**
Hercules, The Farnese, 15, **188–91**
Hercules Resting from His Labors (after Giulio Romano), 19, 27, 28, 106, **144–45**
Hercules Victorious Over the Hydra (after Bertani), 24, 27, **102–104**, 137
Hercules, Bacchus, Pan, and Another God (after Primaticcio), **123**
- Hesiod, 106
Hoeve, Aper van der, 57
The Holy Family (by Teodoro Ghisi), 177, 197
Homer, 50, 106
Honervogt, Jacques, 230, **231**
Houve, Paul de la, 229
Hunt, Allegory of the (after Luca Penni), **91–94**, 112
The Hunt of the Calydonian Boar (after Giulio Romano), 45–46
Hydra, Hercules Victorious Over the (after Bertani), 24, 27, **102–104**, 137
Hylas and the Nymphs (after Giulio Romano), 45–46
Hypnerotomachia Polifili (Colonna), 27, 95, 97, 118, 120n18, 167
- Iconographie* (by van Dyck), 231
Indagine, Ioannes ab, 118
Ippolita Gonzaga as Diana (by Leone Leoni), 119
Isenbrandt, Adriaen, 177n4
- Jeremiah, The Prophet* (after Michelangelo), **160–61**
Jerome in a Landscape with Ruins, St. (by Cock, after Heemskerck), 122
Joel, The Prophet (after Michelangelo), **151–53**
Jollain, Gerard I, **231**
The Judgment of Otto (by Luca Penni?), 112, 113
The Judgment of Paris (after Bertani), 17, 27, 28, **78–81**, 100
The Judgment of Solomon (by Goltzius, after Luca Penni?), 113
Julius II, Pope, 15, 172
Juno and Other Goddesses (after Primaticcio), **125**
Jupiter and Antiope (after Primaticcio), **206**
Jupiter and Callisto (after Primaticcio), **212**
- Lafreri, Antonio, 16, 18, 20, 26, 27, 57, 93, 190, 229, 230, **231**, 232
Lando, Ortensio, 142
The Last Judgment (after Michelangelo), 15, 17, 23, 24, 28, **53–57**, 139, 141
The Last Supper (after Lombard), 17, 27, **64–67**
Leo XII, Pope, 45, 129, 131, 133, 151, 155, 157, 159, 161, 167
Leoni, Leone, 117, 118, 119
- Liberalis, Antoninus, 101n3
Liège, Church of St. Paul, 65–67
Lives (Vasari), 16, 26, 29n2, 36n3, 50n1, 52, 56, 57n3, 60n1, 73, 83n1, 85n3, 94n4, 122n2, 165n4, 165n7, 168n2, 173n2, 203n1
Livy, 38n1
Lombard, Lambert, 25, 63n3, 229
Christ Washing the Feet of the Apostles, 65–67
The Last Supper, 17, 27, 64–67
Loreto, The Madonna of (after Raphael), **171–74**
Losi, Carlo, **231**
Lucchese, Michele, 57, 173, 174
Lucian, 111, 113n1
Lucretia, Tarquin and (after Giulio Romano), **37–38**
Lysippos, 189
- Madonna of Loreto* (after Raphael), **171–74**
MAF, 138
The Man of Sorrows, 175, **180–81**
Mander, Carel van, 65, 66n4, 67n7
Manfrone, Giampaolo, 142, 143n1
Mantegna, Andrea, 100, 111
Mantua
Basilica of St. Barbara, 20, 187, 195, 203
Church of San Andrea, 77, 184
Palazzo del Te, 20, 106, 108, 210
Loggia of the Grotto, 27, 35, 36, 39, 40, 109, 138
Sala degli Stucchi, 106, 145
Sala di Psiche, 81, 95, 167, 168
Palazzo Ducale, Camerino dei Falconi, 38
Studiolo of Isabella d'Este, 100
Manutius, Aldus, 95, 119, 120n18
Marcantonio Raimondi, 16, 27, 52, 80, 100
Mariette, P., 57
Marianne, Pierre-Jean, 28, 29n3, 39, 85, 93, 109, 115, 116, 117, 127n2, 135, 143n5, 211
A Marine Nymph (drawing attributed to Ghisi), 29n25
Marius, Caius, in Prison, **121–22**, 135
Marmirolo, Gonzaga hunting lodge at, 46
The Martyrdom of St. Barbara, 197, **202–203**
Master DWF, 95
Master IQV, 46
Master LD. See Davent, Léon
Matham, Jacob, 60
Maturino da Firenze, 122

- Medici, Catherine de. See Catherine de Medici
- Medoro, Angelica and* (after Teodoro Ghisi), 22, **149-50**
- The Meeting of Anna and Joachim* (by Teodoro Ghisi), 177
- Melancholy of Michelangelo*. See *Allegory of Life*
- Memnon, Birth of*. See *Allegory of Birth*
- Mercati, G. B., 170
- Merwede, Lord of Cloutwyck, Matthys van de, 53
- Metamorphoses* (Liberalis), 101n3
- Metamorphoses* (Ovid), 45, 148
- Meyer, Melchior, 201
- Meysens, Joannes, 229, 230, **231**
- Michelangelo, 15, 17, 20, 25, 28, 63, 118, 190, 191, 229
- The Delphic Sibyl*, 162-63
- The Eritrean Sibyl*, 154-55
- The Last Judgment*, 53-57
- The Persian Sibyl*, 158-59
- The Prophet Ezekiel*, 156-57
- The Prophet Jeremiah*, 160-61
- The Prophet Joel*, 151-53
- Michelangelo, Melancholy of*. See *Allegory of Life*
- Michelangelo, Portrait of* (after Venusti), 28, **139-41**
- Mignon, Jean, 91
- Misericordia, Confraternity of the, 60
- The Mocking of the Prisoners* (after Giulio Romano), **41-43**
- Moro, Battista del, 48
- Moro, Marco Angeli del, 48
- Mozzanega, Agostino, 36
- Muses, Apollo and the* (after Luca Penni), 27, **99-101**
- Muses and a Gesturing Putto, Three* (after Primaticcio), **130-31**
- Muses and a Putto with a Lyre, Three* (after Primaticcio), **128-29**, 135
- Muses and a Putto with Cymbals, Three* (after Primaticcio), **132-33**
- Muziano, Girolamo, 231
- The Mystic Marriage of St. Catherine* (after Correggio), 24, **169-70**
- The Mystic Marriage of St. Catherine* (after Primaticcio), 24, **82-83**, 127
- Nativity, 175
- The Nativity* (after Bronzino), 17, 23, 24, **71-74**
- A Naval Battle Between Greeks and Trojans* (by G. B. Scultori), 52
- Nelli, Nicolo, 57, **232**
- Neptune and Thetis with Sea Gods and Sea Horses* (after Perino del Vaga), **211**
- Neptune, Pluto, and Athena, Apollo*, (after Primaticcio), **126-27**
- Nicolini, Lucia, 22
- Nobilibus, Petri de, 231, **232**
- Nymphs, Hylas and the* (after Giulio Romano), 45-46
- Nys, Daniel, 57n7
- Orion, Diana and*. See *Allegory of the Hunt*
- Orlandi, Giovanni, 230, **232**, 233
- Orlando Furioso* (Ariosto), 150
- Ovid, 38n1, 45, 147, 148n6
- Palazzo del Te*. See Mantua
- Palazzo Ducale*. See Mantua
- Palm, Francesco, **232**
- Pan, and Another God, Hercules, Bacchus*, (after Primaticcio), **123**
- Pan, and a Putto Blowing a Horn, Apollo*, (after Primaticcio), 22, **134-35**
- Paris, The Judgment of* (after Bertani), 17, 27, 28, **78-81**
- Parnassus* (by Mantegna), 100
- Passaroti, Bartolomeo, 60
- Paul III, Pope, 15, 103, 139, 164
- Paul V, Pope, portrait of, 229
- Paul Preaching in Athens, St.* See *The School of Athens*
- Paulis, Ioan Antonij de, **232**
- Pegma* (Costalius), 113n4
- Pencz, Georg, 43n2, 214
- Penelope and Her Women Weaving*, 212
- Penni, Caterina, 91
- Penni, Gianfrancesco, 43n2, 85, 91, 95
- Penni, Laurent, 93n3
- Penni, Luca, 18-19, 25, 27, 83, 85, 118, 230
- Allegory of the Hunt*, 91-94
- Apollo and the Muses*, 99-101
- The Calumny of Apelles*, 24-25, 110-13
- Venus and the Rose*, 95-98
- Pentecost, 175
- Perenoto, Antonio, 27, 64, 69
- Perino del Vaga, 25, 29n25, 83, 84, 91, 165
- Four Plates: Neptune and Thetis with Sea Gods and Sea Horses*, 211
- The Triumph of Bacchus*, 211
- Venus and Vulcan at the Forge*, 86-87
- Venus and Vulcan Seated on a Bed*, 84-85
- Perseus Cast Out to Sea by Acrisius, Danaë and the Infant* (after Giulio Romano), 24, **47-48**
- The Persian Sibyl* (after Michelangelo), **158-59**
- Petrarch, 142
- Pinax iconus antiquorum* (by Woëriot), 234
- Pittoni, Battista, 122n6, 142
- Pity, Virgin of*. See *The Virgin of Sorrows*
- Pius IV, Pope, 195
- Pluto, and Athena, Apollo, Neptune*, (after Primaticcio), **126-27**
- Porro, Girolamo, 142
- Porta, Guglielmo della, 189
- Portrait of François Duaren*, 25, 28, **88-90**
- Portrait of Lambert Suavius* (drawing attributed to Ghisi), 29n25
- Portrait of Michelangelo* (after Venusti), 28, **139-41**
- Presentation in the Temple, 175, 179
- Primaticcio, 19, 25, 42, 91, 100, 101n2, 101n5, 111, 112, 122
- Apollo, Neptune, Pluto, and Athena*, 126-27
- Apollo, Pan, and a Putto Blowing a Horn*, 134-35
- A Goddess on a Chariot(?)*, 211
- Hercules, Bacchus, Pan, and Another God*, 123
- Juno and Other Goddesses*, 125
- Jupiter and Antiope*, 206
- Jupiter and Callisto*, 212
- The Mystic Marriage of St. Catherine*, 24, 82-83
- Three Muses and a Gesturing Putto*, 130-31
- Three Muses and a Putto with a Lyre*, 128-29
- Three Muses and a Putto with Cymbals*, 132-33
- Venus, Two Other Goddesses, and Two Putti*, 124
- Primo Mobile, 137, 138
- The Prison* (after Giulio Romano), **212**
- Procris, The Death of* (after Giulio Romano), 16, **44-46**
- The Prophet Ezekiel* (after Michelangelo), **156-57**
- The Prophet Jeremiah* (after Michelangelo), **160-61**
- The Prophet Joel* (after Michelangelo), **151-53**
- Psyche, Cupid and* (after Giulio Romano), 20, 23, 24, **166-68**
- Psyche, The Feast for Cupid and* (after Giulio Romano), 168
- Punic Wars* (Appian), 42
- Putto and Rabbit* (by Teodoro Ghisi), 148
- Raimondi. See Marcantonio Raimondi
- Rampazetto, Francesco, 142
- Raphael, 16, 25, 27, 57n8, 64, 80, 85, 91, 95, 100, 111, 116, 117, 118, 119, 122
- The Dispute on the Holy Sacrament*, 17, 68-70
- The Madonna of Loreto*, 171-74
- The School of Athens*, 17, 61-63

- Raphael, Dream of*. See *Allegory of Life The Rest on the Flight into Egypt* (after Giulio Campi), 20, 191, **192-94**
- Resurrection, 175
- The Resurrection*, 195-97, **200-201**
- Resurrection of the Dead*. See *The Vision of Ezekiel*
- Reverdy, Georges, 90n2
- Ribera, Jusepe de, 232n2
- Roman History* (Appian), 43n6
- Romano, Giulio. See Giulio Romano
- Roman Soldiers Before an Emperor* (after Giulio Romano?), **205**
- Rome
- San Giovanni Decollato, Oratorio, 26, 59
 - Santa Maria del Popolo, 26, 172, 173
- Rossi, Giovanni Battista, 143, 229, 231, **232, 233**
- Rossi, Giovanni Giacomo, 57n1, **232-33**
- Rossi, Giuseppe, 229, 232, **233**
- Rossi, Matteo Gregorio, 232
- Rosso Fiorentino, 83, 91
- Rota, Martino, 57, 91, 230
- Rouillé, Guillaume, 89, 90
- Rubens, Peter Paul, 67n18, 230, 231
- Ruffinello, Venturino, 103
- Ruggieri, Guido, 211
- Ruscelli, Girolamo, 142, 143n2
- Sacrament, The Dispute on the Holy* (after Raphael), 17, **68-70**
- Sadeler, Aegidius, 150
- St. Jerome in a Landscape with Ruins* (by Cock, after Heemskerck), 122
- St. Paul Preaching in Athens*. See *The School of Athens*
- Salamanca, Antonio, 55, 56, 57, 229, 231
- Salviati, Antonio, 74
- Salviati, Filippo d'Averardo, 71, 73
- Salviati, Francesco, 16, 25, 27
- The Visitation*, 56, 58-60
- San Giovanni Decollato. See Rome
- Santa Maria del Popolo. See Rome
- The School of Athens* (after Raphael), 17, 28, **61-63, 118**
- Scipio, 42, 43n2, 43n4
- Scipio, The Clemency of* (by Fantuzzi), 43n2
- Scipio and Hannibal, The Conference of*, 43n2
- Scotto, Gualtero, 142
- Scultori, Adamo, 16, 28, 164
- Scultori, Diana, 16, 28, 168n2
- Scultori, Giovanni Battista, 16, 23, 28, 29n5, 36, 212
- The Fall of Troy and the Escape of Aeneas*, 51-52
 - Sinon Deceiving the Trojans*, 49-50
- Serlio, Sebastiano, 104
- Servini, Nino, 56
- Servite Order, 175
- Sforza, Cardinal Guido Ascanio, 57
- Sibyl, The Delphic* (after Michelangelo), **162-63**
- Sibyl, The Eritrean* (after Michelangelo), **154-55**
- Sibyl, The Persian* (after Michelangelo), **158-59**
- Sickness, Allegory of* (after Giulio Romano), **34-36, 108**
- Silenus, a Satyr, and a Goat* (after Giulio Romano), 22, **39-40**
- Sinon Deceiving the Trojans* (after G. B. Scultori), **49-50, 52**
- Sistine Chapel. See Vatican
- Sixtus V, Pope, 57
- portrait of, 230
- Slaves in Procession*. See *The Mocking of the Prisoners*
- Solomon, The Judgment of* (by Goltzius, after Luca Penni?), 113
- Sorrows, The Man of*, 175, **180-81**
- Sorrows, The Virgin of*, 175, **178-79**
- Speculum Romanae Magnificentiae*, 190, 231
- The Storming of the Camp of the Carthaginians*, 43n2
- Strozzi, Pietro, 77
- Suavius, Portrait of Lambert* (drawing attributed to Ghisi), 29n25
- Symbolum Apostolorum* (by Teodoro Ghisi), 177
- The Taking of Carthage* (by Pencz), 43n2
- Tarquin and Lucretia* (after Giulio Romano), **37-38**
- Tempesta, Antonio, 229n1
- Thetis with Sea Gods and Sea Horses, Neptune and* (after Perino del Vaga), **211**
- Thomassinus, Philippus, 63, 70, 191, 232, **233**
- The Three Fates* (after Giulio Romano), 27, **105-106, 109, 234**
- Three Muses and a Gesturing Putto* (after Primaticcio), **130-31**
- Three Muses and a Putto with a Lyre* (after Primaticcio), **128-29, 135**
- Three Muses and a Putto with Cymbals* (after Primaticcio), **132-33**
- Titian, 57n8
- The Tomb of Adonis*, 97
- Trent, Council of, 56, 66, 103
- The Trinity*, **185-87**
- The Triumph of Bacchus* (after Perino del Vaga), 211
- Trojans, Sinon Deceiving the* (after G. B. Scultori), **49-50, 52**
- Turpin, Jean, 233
- Vaga. See Perino del Vaga
- Valentinus, Basilus, 120n13
- Vasari, Giorgio, 16, 26, 27, 29n2, 30n27, 36, 50, 52, 56, 57n3, 59, 60n1, 73, 74, 83, 85, 91, 94n4, 122, 164, 165, 168n2, 172, 173n2, 203
- Vatican
- Apostolic Palace, Stanza della Segnatura, 17, 63, 69
 - Sistine Chapel, 26, 55, 153, 155, 157, 159, 161, 163, 164
- Vellert, Dirck, 118
- Venus and Adonis* (after Teodoro Ghisi), 25, 29n23, **146-48**
- Venus and Cupid*, 87
- Venus and the Rose* (after Luca Penni), 27, **95-98**
- Venus and Vulcan at the Forge* (after Perino del Vaga), 83, **86-87**
- Venus and Vulcan Seated on a Bed* (after Perino del Vaga), 83, **84-85**
- Venus Restraining Mars from Attacking Adonis*, 95
- Venus, Two Other Goddesses, and Two Putti* (after Primaticcio), **124**
- Venusti, Marcello, 56, 57n6
- Portrait of Michelangelo*, 139-41
- Veronese, Paolo, 57n8, 122n6
- Vesalius, Andreas, 77
- Vico, Enea, 211
- Victory*. See *Allegorical Figure Holding a Sphere*
- Vigénère, Blaise de, 209
- Villamena, Francesco, 57
- Virgil, 50, 101n2, 116, 117
- Virgin, The Coronation of the*, **175-77**
- The Virgin of Sorrows*, 175, **178-79**
- The Vision of Ezekiel* (after Bertani), 18, **75-77**
- Visitation, 175
- The Visitation* (after Salviati), 16-17, 27, 56, **58-60**
- Vitruvius, 103, 104
- Vos, Martin de, 212
- Vulcan at the Forge, Venus and* (after Perino del Vaga), 83, **86-87**
- Vulcan Seated on a Bed, Venus and* (after Perino del Vaga), 83, **84-85**
- Wierix, Jan, 57
- Woeiriot, Pierre, 57, 89, 90, 201, 234

Library of Congress Cataloging in Publication Data

Boorsch, Suzanne.

The engravings of Giorgio Ghisi.

Bibliography: p.

Includes index.

I. Ghisi, Giorgio, 1520-1582—Catalogs. I. Ghisi, Giorgio, 1520-1582. II. Lewis, Michal. III. Lewis, R. E. IV. Metropolitan Museum of Art (New York, N. Y.) V. Title.

NE662.G49A4 1984 769.92'4 84-27290

ISBN 0-87099-396-8

ISBN 0-87099-397-6 (pbk.)

